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ABSTRACT

This book, divided into four sections, looks at growth and no-growth positions in a future society. Section one deals with ways of looking at the future and concludes with an effort to look at the methodology of futurists and to describe how they work. Section two addresses practical questions faced by colleges of education concerning supply and demand alternatives, forms of schooling and deschooling in the future, and alternative forms of governance that may appear in the future. Section three describes tools whereby decentralized, small, community-centered political groups can gain control of their own futures. This section is comprised of two segments, one on the legal future of small, community, culture-based education, and the second on how such communities can acquire sufficient tools to plan their own educational futures. Section four presents the Deans Committee's critiques of the preliminary recommendations made by the Study Commission with respect to future study, which emphasizes decentralized planning, a no-growth economy, community futuristics, and the limitation of the encapsulating effects of schooling vis-a-vis society and nature. (PD)

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THE FUTURE:

CREATE OR INHERIT

Edited by
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Deans Committee
(Dean Corrigan and Alfredo Castaneda, Chairmen)
Study Commission on Undergraduate Education
and the Education of Teachers
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INTRODUCTION

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If a weather forecaster says that there is a 20 per cent chance of rain tomorrow, and it rains, is he right or wrong?

–Leo Shapiro

Every time the storyteller relates a fresh episode to his public, he presides over a real invocation. The existence of a new type of man is revealed to the public. The present is no longer turned in upon itself but is spread out for all to see. . . . The emergence of the imagination and of the creative urge in songs and epic stories of a colonized country is worth following. The storyteller replies to the expectant people by successive approximations, and makes his way, apparently alone, but in fact helped on by his public, toward the seeking out of new patterns, that is to say national patterns.

–Frantz Fanon

I.

This is a practical book.

The book on educational futures which follows was developed by the Deans Committee of the USOE Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers. The members of the Deans Committee are Dean Corrigan, University of Vermont, and Alfredo Castaneda, Stanford University, co-chai[illegible] Milton Schwebel, Rutgers University; George Denemark, University of Kentucky; Joan Goldsmith, Institute of Open Education, Antioch Graduate Center; Paul Orr, University of Alabama; W.R. Hicks, Southern University; Robert Egbert, University of Nebraska; Vito Perrone, University of North Dakota; Nancy Arnez, Howard University; and Harry Rivlin, Fordham University.

It may appear that a book on educational futures, sponsored and, in part, written by a group of the Deans of Education, is merely an opportunist getting on the general bandwagon leading us to more and more futures studies. While any person's, or a group of persons', motivations for any action are likely to be complex, motives other than the sheer popularity of the subject caused the Deans of Education group to undertake the volume which follows.

Colleges of Education have been particularly subject to the unreliability of manpower planning. American education has gone through a series of cycles - first too few and then too many teachers. The causes of these cycles are many, including changes in birthrate, federal interventions, and public attitudes toward education. In the 1960's Colleges of Education were encouraged to expand enormously in order to meet the teacher shortage. Thirty-five to 40 per cent of the students enrolled in higher education institutions were people having the goals of acquiring a certificate to teach in the common schools of the nation. Projections of the teacher shortage continued into the late 60's, and in some cases even into the 70's.[1] At the same time, increasing numbers of education graduates were having a difficult time finding jobs, and state legislatures soon heard about this. To some degree, the colleges may have created their own problems by failing to anticipate needs—e.g., failing to create education-and-ethnic-studies programs or education-and-environmental-studies programs, leaving such tasks to others. In any case, there was a sudden proclamation that the next decade would see a surplus of 1 million or 1½ million or 2 million teachers. More recently the Rand Corporation and other groups have revised the estimates, suggesting that the maximum surplus is likely to be no greater than four hundred thousand.[2] In the early 80's, the teaching professions industry is likely again to be facing a shortage.

The building of the institutional capacity to train professionals is a long-term process. But just about the time the institutions have come to the place they think they are meeting the shortages that the nation is experiencing, they are in fact creating surpluses. Now, if they cut back to respond to the surpluses, they may well be creating another cycle of shortages.[3] Administration in such a context is by no means easy. To leaders in education, and to the nation generally, it becomes important to have some conception of what kind of long range planning for education personnel is desirable.

From the beginning the Deans of Education Committee has been concerned with the methods of futurism as they might be applied to rethinking questions of shortages and surpluses in the area of teacher education.

Simultaneously the Committee took up consideration of possible new roles of teachers. For if there is a surplus of teachers, such a surplus may be depleted if there are other things a teacher can do aside from filling with sound the space between the four walls of the classroom. Early in the game the Committee came to be concerned with new educational roles which teachers might have—as street workers, adult educators, as industrial educators, as open university teachers, as community college teachers, as conductors of T-sessions, as leaders in work-study projects.[4]

When the Study Commission turned to futurists and centers for the study of the future, seeking guidance in making policy recommendations, it began to see that certain branches of futuristics suggested ways of restructuring education to accommodate future problems, a new molding of things consonant with Study Commission concerns for change which took their rise from an analysis of present discontents. The Study Commission has held, in its Value Statement, that "the communities which are most supportive of intellectual and emotional growth in the young tend to be those in which the important groups to which the individual looks are small . . . groups in which youth and age, work and play, are not neatly separated."[5] This position is held not only by such social scientists as Jan Van den Berg, Lytton and Scott, and Gump (*Big School, Small School*),[6] but it is also the position of an increasing number of students of school and industrial policy who are giving advice to the federal government: e.g., James Coleman (*Youth in Transition*, written in connection with the Career Education program) and James O'Toole (*Work in America*, written in connection with Elliott Richardson's efforts to study the effects of the industrial alienation).[7] Among the visions of the future that most interested the Study Commission directorate and some members of the Deans of Education group was the vision of the Meadows, Meadows, and Forrester group at MIT. These ideas are set forth in *The Limits of Growth* and *World Dynamics*.[8] We were also interested in the related position of the British group which produced *Blueprint for Survival*.[9]

These groups foresee increasing difficulty as a consequence of the interrelationships among over-population, energy shortages, shortages of food, and pollution.[10] Taken together, according to the "prophets," these consequences of exponential economic growth will make human life and human society increasingly unpleasant and will require a restructuring of societies and of human motivational schemes.

Jay Forrester, in a recent speech, suggested that he had probably, in his *World Dynamics*, overestimated the extent to which physical factors would be crucial in changing the direction of values of world civilization and that he had underestimated the extent to which increasing social malaise would ultimately require changes in the patterns of a growth-oriented economy. Forrester points to symptoms such as increasing violence; increasing inhabitability of the large cities; increasing random international violence and guerrilla warfare; increasing alienation, malaise and breakdown of confidence in public institutions.[11]

A no-growth society designed to respond to these problems may require decentralization of social power, establishment of "post-industrial" equivalents in small group communities, and creation of social groups capable of maintaining a more interactive relationship with nature (semi-rural decentralized communities).[12] Such communities would, by design or necessity, exercise strict population control and, by virtue of their "closeness to nature," exhibit a clear sense for the necessity of living within the constraints set by natural systems. A proper "no-growth" community would expect not to take out of nature anything that it did not put back; it would expect to keep alive a very intimate relationship between nature and culture, between culture and the schools, between the community and the surrounding ecological cycles.

On grounds which have nothing to do with green leaves and fresh rivers, the Study Commission has been interested in the small scale institution and particularly in the small scale community-controlled institution. It sees such institutions as possibly assisting in relating work and study as envisaged by career education; as assisting in relieving the sense of oppression created by large corporate structures and large school systems which deny community control; as possibly relieving the sense of alienation created by the imposition, on small group and non-western cultures, of patterns of schooling essentially derived from industrial patterns of human processing.[13] These possibilities lead at least a portion of the Study Commission to come to the notion that future studies perhaps would assist the Commission in elaborating positions developed on other grounds and assist the federal government in developing policy responsive to natural constraints.

II.

The book, as we have arranged it, is divided into four sections which look at both growth and no-growth positions. The *first section* has to do with ways of looking at the future. The segment by Harold Shane is based on consultation with a variety of futures' experts who construct pictures of the future by making linear projections from present trends. The segment containing essays by Chuck Case and by Robert Bundy begins with questions posed by the Meadows and Forrester group which endeavors to look at complex interactions among such systems-factors as population, pollution, energy sources, and food sources. The concluding part of this section is an effort to look at the methodology of futurists and to describe how futurists work.

The *second section* of the book addresses practical questions, faced by Colleges of Education as they look at the future, particularly at the future extending beyond the horizon of ten years, a horizon limiting most university and other institutions' long-range plans. The essays concern supply and demand alternatives, forms of schooling and de-schooling in the future, and alternative forms of governance which may appear in the future.

The *third section* focusses on additional practical questions–questions arising out of the perspectives of the parent, the child, and the community. This section is comprised of two segments, one on the legal future of small community, culture-based education, and the second on how such communities can acquire sufficient tools to plan their own educational futures, so that they can "create them" rather than "be created" by the prophecies of futurists and the trends they describe. The pack of tools envisaged by this section would be the tools to create small "no-growth" communities.

The *fourth section* is the recommendation section.

III.

In his essay (Section I), Shane develops a picture of the future apparently based on the notions that world population and industrial growth will continue and that search for global equilibrium is not urgent or not so urgent as "no-growth" futurists would argue. On the other hand, Case and Bundy in their essays seem to begin with the notion that problems created by population growth, industrial pollution, food production, and resource energy depletion require development of a global-equilibrium society and a consequent restructuring of industrial societies.

Shane appears to foresee education encompassing more and more of a person's life (although he looks to a radically delimited and clearer conception of what the schools can do), while Bundy and Case look toward a de-schooling of society and the use of temporary systems and networks of learning resources to assist people in solving intellectual problems. All three essays seem to envisage students spending more time in the community collecting what may be called "real-life" experiences. Shane apparently assumes present bureaucratic organizational structures and proposes making them more responsive, humane, and person-centered by employing humanistic psychology and other modern management tools. Case and Bundy appear to look to the abolition of bureaucracy and the development of more participatory modes of group decision-making. They also look to the abolition of elites through the destruction of tools which require elite forms of knowledge for their mastery and to the development of what Illich calls "convivial tools" (tools for living available to anyone).

Bundy and Case and Shane's informants seem to advocate making a clear distinction between schooling and education so people can develop a sense of vocation to continue to learn throughout their lives and so they can regard the educational institutions only as resources in the learning process. All these essays conceptualize an education process which allows people to move out of the marketplace into more intense learning experiences and back to the marketplace; and all conceptualize a university rooted in the community, controlled by the community, and with a curriculum based on community problems.

One might be tempted to look at Shane's position as the "establishment" position and the Bundy-Case position as the "revolutionary" one. Nevertheless both are revolutionary *given the present way of doing things.* Both positions require a core curriculum addressing issues of environment, of social structures, and of the excesses of materialistic society, and addressing these issues in ways which encourage the possibility of people developing new sets of values. Bundy and Case emphasize not only democratization of education (thorough-going "open admissions"), but democratization of education through a simplification of technology and a major transfer of power to present low-income and minority groups–groups presently out of the orbit of the professional, elite, academic establishment and its support systems in industrial corporate elites. Concomitantly, another theme running through the Bundy and Case essays is the *necessity of the death of education* as a vehicle for a chauvinistic aspiration and indoctrination–the development of "spaceship earth" mentality in the schools. This mentality requires education allowing the transfer of power from the elites in this country to more popular groups and from world elites to the masses of people in the Third World.

The last piece in Section I of the book focusses on the actual methodology in futures planning. In this section, Bundy sets forth the differences among the kinds of futurism developed by "trend extrapolators," "intersystemic futurism" as developed by Forrester-types, and "intuitive futurism" practiced by Bundy himself. These distinctions lead Professor Harold Garfinkel to make his severe criticism of "futurism": it does not, in his view, have a describable method and does not take cognizance of the wills of the individual people who "go together" to produce societies–to make institutions and ultimately to create the future.[14]

IV.

The second section of the book deals with the "practical questions" posed by looking beyond a ten-year future. The Weaver essay examines possibilities for expanding the need for educational school personnel through reducing teacher-student ratios, reducing drop-out rates, adding pre-primary students to the student body, and increasing compensatory schooling. Though the essay does not promise that any of these devices will reduce the teacher surplus much, it appears to regard adding two years of school at the primary level, more compensatory education and other additional schooling as desirable. Simultaneously, it assumes rapid changes in communities' need for educational services as the economy expands, a need created by changes in the technology of business, government, and the military. When such technological changes take place, work-tasks change and people require additional education to respond to the new technologies.

But if, as Bundy and Case argue, the values of our civilization rather than its technology are what need to be changed, then education–particularly for adults–will certainly not be primarily that projected by Weaver.

Yet those believing that the human race requires a technological system which exists in equilibrial relationship to the natural cycles have only tentatively addressed themselves to the kind of education necessary to the *transformation of values* which would go with the no-growth economy. It is safe to say that the primary direction of such an education would *not* be toward teaching people to accommodate growth technologies. Such education would have to teach people to reject those technologies and form new value systems; it would have to set forth new ways of operating in an economy of prudence, scarcity, thrift, and sensitive leisure. The *Whole Earth Catalogue* and its progeny and relatives (including some Study Commission publications) are perhaps the first in this new species of educational tools.[15]

Exponential knowledge growth seems to be associated with exponential growth in other areas.[16] "Information richness," in Coleman's terms, seems to be associated with an exponential growth economy. But formulation of information paradigms and systems required for a no-growth economy has hardly begun. Were this volume completely consistent it would pair with the Weaver essay, an examination of projected supply and demand of teachers needed in a no-growth society.

In contrast to Weaver, Corrigan presents a picture of fractured policy-making, moving simultaneously towards a growth *and* a no-growth future. Alternative institutions, survival schools, ecological schools, schools training young people to work with a limited technology and with convivial tools in close proximity with the forces of nature are part of our slowing-down for a slow growth or no-growth future.[17] On the other hand, in his review of current forces affecting education which are possibly antithetical, Corrigan mentions conventional efforts to "solve" the racism of the schools, to develop "career education," and to foster industry-related species of "accountability" in education. These efforts are largely mounted on the premise of the persistence of the present industrial system and its economic escalation. They seek to provide a more sophisticated work force, one competent to deal with the intellecto-technical operations required of the modern industrial worker as contrasted with the pure brawn required of his predecessor. That the public schools may be destroyed by the tensions between "growth" and "no-growth" forces is not inconceivable.

The problems which Corrigan mention are problems which virtually all futurists would recognize as real and as requiring solutions if children are to become a meaningful part of the adult culture or if education is to contribute anything to their becoming a part of it. However, Corrigan's solutions almost all point firmly in the direction of the decentralization of education and the development of teacher-training accountable to the small-group community—its parents and its peculiar aspirations for children.

What needs to be done next in the dialogue is an examination of the ways in which such teacher training can both reflect the perceptions of the community as to how children ought to be raised, make use of the resources of the community and, at the same time, expose children to the sorts of conceptual schemes that might be part of building some consciousness of world-wide needs and interests.

The Sagan essay speaks to the governance required for the decentralization of teacher education. Based on a Committee discussion (September, 1972), it proposes a set of principles that should form the basis for governance in teacher education: (1) proper governance procedures exhibit openness in planning and programming such that all constituencies (including community leaders, parents, students, professional societies and the academic disciplines) provide advice about the training of educational personnel; (2) a proper governance process creates a clear sense of mission in institutions of higher education and clinical schools so that both differentiate their programs from those of other institutions in the area and define the specific kind of teaching personnel which they can effectively prepare for their region, all the while removing themselves from the business of educating other kinds of education personnel; (3) each constituency participating should have its individual expertise defined and its strengths used in contributing to teacher training and formulation of policy; (4) the responsibilities of the governance system should be conceived as regional and based on a needs assessment developed within a state or area to be served by trained education personnel.

Sagan then goes on to outline possible alternative govenment systems consonant with these principles

V.

The third section of the book describes tools whereby decentralized small community-centered political groups can gain control of their own futures. The first method, proposed by Lawrence Freeman, is the use of legal strategies, particularly strategies directed toward securing education specific to culture and cultural region and perforce controlled by the constituents of the culture-region. Freeman's argument is based on a legal distinction common to Roman, medieval and English law generally: a distinction between positive law and customary law.[18] It is hard to argue that there is anything in the tradition of English law prior to the eighteenth century which sanctions any institution's absolute right to disrupt the customary practice (linguistic, kinesic, festival or authority practice) of a community without a clear and explicit sense of the "common good." Only with the Enlightenment appeal to "universal human nature" as the basis for all law does the significance of the "customary" in law become muted. Even so, the principle still has some force in American law. For many American school communities, the generation of a policy consonant with the no-growth society may require an appeal to customary legal systems which had authority prior to the development of growth society, legal systems whose premises appear to be embedded in the propositions of the Ninth Amendment to the Constitution, in several American treaties, particularly those with Mexican and Native American peoples, and finally in a number of Supreme Court decisions (the Lau decision based on unrelated premises may also help).

The discussion following the Freeman essay focusses on an earlier version of the Bundy paper. This discussion examines the extent to which the profession of the futurist is a poet's or icon-maker's profession, the extent to which it is an elite kind of science, and the extent to which the tools of the futurist can be used by any culture or neighborhood group to take control, to a maximum degree, of the circumstances in which it lives and develop its own future assuming only the constraints of the natural system. The participants in the discussion explore the extent to which futurism is a political activity representing the interest of one community as opposed to another. If futurism is a poetic, moral or aesthetic mode of working and not a "scientific" one, it is a moral or ethical discipline (or series of disciplines) which by virtue of holding up an *eidolon,* or series of them, of future activity legitimizes or demythologizes certain present activities so as to "create a future," an activity in which every group which has a stake in creating its own myth system and its own circumstances of living must have an interest.

VI.

The final section of the book contains the Deans Committee's critique of the preliminary recommendations made by the Study Commission with respect to future study. The recommendations in their original forms emphasize decentralized planning, a no-growth economy, community-building "futuristics," and the limitation of the encapsulating effects of schooling vis-à-vis society and nature. The original Study Commission recommendations, in summary, were:

I. Futures studies, because of the authority they carry as "objective professional documents," are social facts with implications for policy-making; they are not neutral management documents and have a large influence on the way things will be.

II. Future policy groups should make explicit how their recommendations relate to the establishment of long-term national goals in such areas as the structure of the vocations, land-use, urban planning, community-building, and economic development.

III. Clients whose lives are affected by futures studies excluding their interests should be given the resources to trace out the implications of these studies for them and the resources to ensure more favorable alternatives.

IV. The Office of Education should develop a management information system attending to total learning communities, to field experience in community schools and in prototypical communities, to the decentralization of power, and to each community's development of its own picture of what the future should be like.

V. Education should be restructured to bring together work and education.

VI. The education of teachers should be decentralized, centered in community-building skills, based on an inter-active stance toward nature (i.e., a no-growth attitude toward economic development) and encourage differentiation and complementarity of social roles, rather than competition and linear notions of equality.

VII.

I wish to return to the argument of the third section and to write somewhat more personally.[19] It may be, as one dean of an Arts and Science College has written to the Study Commission, that all futurism is "essentially unreliable witchcraft . . . which suggests binding the mind to a hypothetical and imperfectly perceived future. . . ." It is certainly clear that "futurism," in looking ahead, has missed much of what has happened. So far as I know, "futurists" did not project the civil rights movement, the intensity, destructiveness and shattering effect of the Vietnam war (their simulations of the war were constantly wrong), or the growth of a countercultural group comprised of large numbers of young people who reject the industrial corporate ethos; only the Forrester group predicted and spoke boldly about the coming "energy crisis" as much as three years in advance of it. A distinguished futurist around 1970 predicted a diminishing of the impact of technology as a consequence of our coming to live with rapid change and our developing of a comfortable confidence in our own identities and the value, authority, and credibility of our public institutions. He also suggested that in the early 1970's we would learn that our weapons are too deadly to use (only the insane would use them), and that we would be well accustomed to changes in our energy sources—a "prediction" which seems from the short view of 1974 to have missed most of "what is happening" here and abroad. The futurists who miss may simply appear to miss because the trends which they presume to graph don't advance at exactly the rate projected. In part, however, the mode of expression—the rhetoric of the futurist—may have much to do with his failure or success. The primary tool of the present futurist is the graph—the picture of trends for the conventional futurist or the picture of inter-active "intersystemic" dependencies for the MIT brand of futurist. Neither mode deals with human imagination—with the extent to which human beings *will into existence* a mode of life based on certain publicly or privately cherished fantasy-box pictures of what the future *must* be. Consider to what extent a privately cherished picture of Camelot or of the James Bond civic salvation have affected the nation's movement in the recent past.[20] Consider the extent to which prophecies of the future and a religio-social vision of how the future is "to be produced" in *Black Elk Speaks* created a structure of events at Wounded Knee through the persons and visions of Wallace Black Elk and Henry Crow Dog (contrary to anything that a futurist might graph for the territory).[21] "Futurism" in previous societies has been frankly a matter of "witchcraft": a Virgilian-witch Sybil, divinely inspired, shows Aenaes a picture of a Roman future which comprehends a world-empire which will guarantee the peace, a vision which guided the efforts of Roman and Holy Roman empires for fifteen hundred years and which has given meaning to imperial efforts in every age since. A "St. John" sees a vision of the overthrow of empire, of martyrdom and the "lamb that was slain" as part of the process and of the restoration of the first garden outside of time, a vision which glowed in the imagination of many a peasant with bent shoulder, lightening its load and fixing the limits of the social change which he might will. Together St. John and Virgil constitute the *yin* and *yang* of Western and Northern European culture. What all of these visions of the future claim as their certificate is aesthetic grandeur and the absolute force of divine decree. No futurist claims that now, and perhaps only Marxism (and its poets) among the new social scientific "visions of the future" claims a similar, almost inevitable power to "bring into existence" what it projects. A futurism education based on graphs and trend extrapolations and addressing educational issues, but which ignores aesthetic or visionary forms—particularly those which make an absolute claim—as forces which create the direction of the will (Pound's aesthetic *directio voluntatis*) is not likely to explain adequately either *education* or the *future*. The future very often turns not on the apparent momentum of history but on the human cussedness of individuals or groups captured by an icon. The educator who would create the future ought perhaps first to attend to how visions of what the future will be are created in the human imagination through textbooks, the media, play, dreams, and the whole rehearsal and visioning element in our society-constituting processes.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See *Study Commission* (Manpower Newsletter, December, 1973), "Government Policies Fluctuate: Fail to Issue Warning of Surplus; Development of Reforms Likely," p. 4, available Study Commission, Andrews Hall 338, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508; cf. the recent Government Accounting Office report on the teacher surplus, available GAO.

[2] This report will soon be released by RAND; a report of the study should be included in the proceedings of the 1974 American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) annual convention, available AACTE, 1 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C.

[3] Cf. the RAND report cited above and Leo Shapiro and Evelyn Zerfoss, *The Supply and Demand of Teachers and Teaching*, available Study Commission.

[4] Cf. Shapiro and Zerfoss, pp. 25-35; cf. the Deans Committee's original postulates in this area, *Education for 1984 and After*, pp. 1-10, available Study Commission.

[5] Study Commission "Value Statement," included in *Of Education and Human Community*, Study Commission Learning Contexts Committee Report, p. 130, available Study Commission.

[6] Cf. *Of Education and Human Community*, pp. 9-45; cf. J.F. Scott and R.P. Lynton, *The Community Factor in Modern Technology* (UNESCO, 1952), p. 15; cf. Roger G. Barker and Paul Gump, *Big School: Small School, passim.*

[7] Cf. James Coleman, *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), *passim*; also James O'Toole, *Work in America* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 134-45 and *passim.*

[8] Donella H. Meadows *et al, Limits to Growth: A Report of the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind, passim;* cf. Jay Forrester, *World Dynamics, passim.*

[9] Edward Goldsmith *et al, Blueprint for Survival, passim.*

[10] This view of the future is markedly at variance with that of conventional futurists such as John Platt.

[11] This view is set forth in *Blueprint for Survival.* An almost identical view was set forth in a recent speech by Jay Forrester in a seminar for future engineers given at the University of Nebraska.

[12] Cf. *Of Education and Human Community*, pp. 100-03, taken from *Blueprint for Survival.*

[13] Cf. *Of Education and Human Community*, pp. 127-35; also James O'Toole, *Work In America;* pp. 135ff; Coleman's *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* is also very good on this point.

[14] Garfinkel's vision of "sociology's function" is rather succinctly set down in Nicholas and Carolyn Mullins, *Theories and Theory Groups in Sociology* (New York, 1973). Garfinkel argues that a society is characterized by its own accounting and describing procedures: "Social order is precarious, having no existence apart from those accounting and describing procedures." The Mullinses write of ethnomethodology and structural functionalism: "The fundamental difference between ethnomethodology and structural functionalism was over the latter's assumption of a stable system of symbols and meanings shared by members of a society. Hence the typical survey does not consider respondents' interpretive problems in answering questions. These problems have long been considered either (1) not researchable or (2) not important, since the regularity of responses and the ways in which those regularities correlate with regularities in status or behavior are seen as more significant than the interpretation of those meanings being invested in the questions by respondents. With the impetus from a program statement in Cicourel (1964), those involved began to ask whether meanings are shared. Furthermore, ethnomethodologists questioned how actors know what is expected of them and what roles of the many that are possible are being evoked by different situations. The regularity of human behavior is sufficiently great that some systematic process clearly exists; ethnomethodology's question is: How does it proceed?

". . . The focus is not on activity but rather on the process by which members manage to *produce and sustain a sense of social structure.* The attempt to understand these accounting procedures by members of a social order constituted ethnomethodology's radical break from standard American sociology.

. . . .

"With ethnomethodology, as with the other traditions, the essence of the tradition is contained in the group's work and nowhere else. A summary of the basic position is: By virtue of man's group memberships, the skills, knowledge, and abilities (a general 'world view') of his culture accrue to him. Ethnomethodologists circumscribe for study (1) the acquisition of socially distributed cultural knowledge, (2) its occasioned invocation and use in interaction encounters, and (3) the processes by which other members of society judge specific social behaviors as acceptable displays. Ethnomethodology's theoretical orientation centers around the acquisition and use of language, normative rule interpretation, and the structure of common-sense experience and rationality" (Mullins, pp. 194-96).

Coleman has attacked Garfinkel's methodology in "Review Symposium," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (1968), pp. 126-30. Ethnomethodologists would probably argue that most futurism suffers from the same defects as other structural-functionalist "data-gathering" in its efforts to characterize present or future societies. This explains Garfinkel's "search for a method" in his remarks in this book (pp. 95-106) and his resistence to the use of questionnaires to develop pictures of the present and of future plans.

[15] A number of catalogues of this sort have been published by the Study Commission: Larry Magid, *Mini-Manual For a Free University* (on free universities and resources); *A Community of Seekers* (on experimental higher education); the Study Commission liberal arts newsletter (on experimental liberal arts work); and Nena Shanks, *Resource Directory, Some New Ways of Learning and Teaching* (on experimental teacher education). All of these are available from the Study Commission, Andrews Hall 3[illegible], University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508.

[16] Cf. Kenneth Boulding, "Education and the Economic Process," *Nothing But Praise*, pp. 58-71, available Study Commission.

[17] Readers of the *New Schools Exchange Newsletter* can see this with particular clarity.

[18] The distinction between customary law and positive law derived from natural law by the "executive" (or monarch) and his council (legislature) is set forth in Aegidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum* and in Sir John Fortescue's *De Natura Legis Naturae* and in his *De Laudibus L[illegible] Angliae.*

[19] The argument of this section was originally developed in "A Child's Guide to the Future," given at an ASCD Seminar on futures and teacher

education, available Ivan Dahl, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota. Subsequently Alvin Toffler published a book, *Learning for Tomorrow*, on what appears to be the same theme.

[20] The researches of Brian Sutton-Smith, Northrup Frye and Robert Jewett are germane to this point. The notion of literature as "rehearsal" in politics has not been sufficiently explored.

[21] Cf. speech given by Wallace Black Elk at the University of Nebraska, May, 1974.

THE EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FUTURE

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Editor's note: This chapter is taken from a report submitted by Dr. Shane to the Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, in 1972.

This report deals with the implications of policy research for education. It is based on information obtained during a 1971-1972 study of futures research, but the writer has stitched the data together in a design which portrays some of the directions in which U.S. education might go during the next five to 15 years. The ideas presented reflect clearly and honestly the nature of certain alternative futures toward which most participants in futures research believe that education should move. At the same time it must be understood that the total pattern of educational change is a mosaic developed by the writer; an interpretation inferred from the ideas of more than 80 scientists, logicians, mathematicians, and so, as they might appear when adapted or transplanted to the educational community of elementary or secondary schools and to post-secondary education.

On the whole, the views of futurists were liberal but not of an activist-radical sort. Neither was there any opinion that the schools were so ineffectual that the present educational system had to be scrapped and replaced with markedly different "neo-humanistic" or "deschooled" forms of teaching and learning. Nor was there any strong sentiment that "electronic packages" would greatly alter the basic nature of the educational environment in the immediate future. Rather, stress was placed on the need for educators to implement many of the nascent trends and ideas of merit that already were in existence; in a word, to reform rather than to revolutionize education.

Most futurists were optimistic about educators' and communities' ability to reform the schools. Their main concern resided in the question of whether basic changes would occur as rapidly as circumstances required. If substantial changes such as are presented here are encouraged by U.S. Office of Education and National Institute of Education (NIE) leadership, the educational universe of the 1980's would be profoundly different from that of the 1960's and early 1970's.

What are some of the appealing changes that policy research in the U.S. urges upon educational leadership? Let us look first at major focal points. These are: (1) clarification of *goals*, (2) changes in the *structure* or organization of the school, and (3) possible changes and additions or replacements in *subject matter*. Each of these three points will be considered in turn in the sections that follow.

The Need for Clear, New Social and Educational Goals

At least since the early years of the century U.S. schools have been characterized by a wide spectrum of both academic and humane goals, some of which did not coincide. Our problem has not been the lack of educational objectives in curriculum guides and textbooks but a surfeit of them. Some were academic goals, others ranged from broad human development and life adjustment to ambitious approaches involving social reform and help for the disadvantaged. By the mid-1960's a strong and costly educational investment had become conspicuously overburdened with tasks that were dictated by goals that often were too numerous and too conflicting for the schools to accomplish. Problems and disagreements extended from early childhood education through the post-secondary level.

At the present juncture, most policy and futures research specialists agree that one of the nation's tasks is to determine what it really seeks in the decades ahead and what these aspirations mean for the schools. Lacking some form of social concensus as to what it should accomplish, U.S. education will remain in deeply troubled waters. This is because our schools are not independent agencies but function as an integral part of the culture as a whole—a highly polished speculum reflecting a social scene that has lost much of its stability because of the massive transitions of the past 40 years.

The need for new, clear goals is heightened because 20 years of increasing affluence in the U.S. has entrenched our appetite for more material gains for more people. We have moved from wistfully *longing* for a better living in the 1930's to *hoping* for a better quality of life in the late 1940's, to *expecting* greater material and human gains in the 1950's and to *demanding* them since the mid-1960's. The deterioration of the environment as a result of the accelerating quest for more goods, better services, more education, and greater freedom for all Americans has been extensively documented and poses some of the major paradoxes and problems of the 1970's.[1] We now need to reassess our levels of social, material, and educational aspirations, futures research tells us, as we determine what the biosphere can provide, and to identify new, equitable, humane yet realistic levels of aspiration toward which we can afford to move.

Building an Educational Foundation

One of the dilemmas of the present, as implied above, resides in the fact that society is both ambivalent and ambiguous in its aspirations with regard to how schooling best can serve them. The confusion need not and should not, however, serve as a pretext for postponing certain basic reforms. Even while society comes to grips with the decisions that the times require, our schools can begin the task of studying and modifying or replacing educational doctrines and practices that have become of diminished value through the past 30 or 40 years.

The development of new educational futures for young learners, for example, does not imply any loss of respect for substantive content. No policies research specialist would propose that there is a substitute for being able to read and to interpret the nuances of the printed page. A suitable foundation does, however, imply changes in the climate for learning and new expanded approaches to content. Examples of some specific suggestions from futurists which promise to help children and youth better to cope with alternative futures:

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[1] The increasing tempo of discussion is clearly presented in the description of the U.N. Environmental Conference in Stockholm. Cf. Barry Commoner, "Motherhood in Stockholm," *Harper's Magazine*, 224:49-54, June, 1972.

(1) Provision, before as well as after birth, for careful physical and mental examination plus appropriate follow-up.

(2) Experiences beginning with birth that promise to create desirable cumulative cognitive input, with methodical schooling beginning no later than at age three.[2]

(3) Emphasis on a "personalized" program which concentrates on the learner's optimum development rather than focusing on attempts to bring him up to group norms.

(4) Careful efforts to build in the student a positive self-image –a positive view of himself–so that he does not feel he is "dirty," "stupid," a "nonreader" and so on.

(5) Development of a suitable future-focused role image (FFRI). This is analogous to the self-concept, but extends forward through time to delineate a realistic, *motivating* concept of the options he has in working toward a life-role that brings satisfaction and promises self-respect and dignity.

(6) Endeavor, even with quite young (10-12 years old) children, to study the "history of the future." Help them through old magazines, books, and papers, for instance, to see how "today" was foreshadowed eight or ten years ago, study how the neighborhood has changed in four to eight years. What caused these changes? Were they desirable ones? What was done–or not done–to bring about change? How do we go about the task of looking ahead? How does one identify alternative futures and prepare promising scenarios?

(7) Identify ways in which children and youth can become of greater value to the community through work-service pro-

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[2] Many persons in the publishing and educational business fields also would deeply appreciate professionably acceptable guidelines as to the nature of good curriculum enrichment materials.

grams sponsored by the school and involving adults in the vicinity. (The purpose here is again to involve children in some of the useful work roles many of them filled prior to 1920 or 1930 and which gave them a sense of worth.) Cleaning up litter on beaches or parks or taking care of school clean-up needs are examples of non-exploitative jobs in which even six or eight year olds could engage. Older children and youth could perform many more forms of socially useful work, for example by serving as pre-paraprofessionals helping in programs for children of five and under, tutoring other children, handling teaching aids in school, or helping to prepare and distribute food provided through welfare programs. This approach could well eventuate in more widespread postponement of post-secondary education, perhaps decrease the relative number of persons seeking a baccalaureate degree, and more firmly motivate those who do seek to enter a field of work that requires academic credentials.

(8) Utilize the community itself as a huge teaching aid by means of which many learnings could transpire. In effect this implies making the community environment not an *alternative* school but a more meaningful *adjunct* to schooling.

The eight broad points above are intended to suggest the nature of educational programs which successfully enable youths to effectively mesh themselves with any of a number of alternative futures that lie ahead. Patently, such programs will need to depart sharply from contemporary schooling practices which are predominantly passive, didactic, and cloistered within conventional classroom walls. In short, the proposed changes would profoundly transform the present school environment experienced in childhood, but without wrecking the educational community. There is no reason to believe that desirable educational changes cannot be made within the infrastructure of U.S. schools. The futurist's emphasis is on reformation and renewal rather than on demolition or revolution. Let us now examine some general characteristics of educational reform to be attained through wise choices among alternative possibilities.

Proposed Infrastructure Unification

What kind of changes in the organizational structure of U.S. education are suggested by the images of the future to which a number of policy research specialists appear to subscribe? What does an extrapolation of their writings and research projects suggest?

As one examines the survey data and their implications for a new organizational structure, four points seem clear:

(1) The infrastructure should be much more flexible: be less hampered by doctrinaire or "red-tape" regulations.

(2) The deployment of instructional personnel should be more imaginative, more varied, and involve greater interaction with one's colleagues as well as more transactions among both teachers and learners at more widespread age levels.

(3) Deliberate, methodical provisions should be made for education beginning in early childhood and extending into old age.

(4) The structural matrices for learning should become more permeated by the Third Force or Humanistic Psychology associated with writers such as the late Abraham H. Maslow.

In the realm of subject matter, which is discussed in the next section of this chapter, futures research stresses seven points, namely:

(1) That there should be continued powerful stress on the acquisition of meaningful substantive content, but that "content" should be more broadly defined in U.S. schools of the late 1970's.

(2) That there should be less uniformity in what substantive content is acquired by a given learner.

(3) That the time at which individual learners encounter similar ideas, content, and concepts should vary appreciably.

(4) That more expressive and affective experiences should be introduced to lend better balance to instrumental and cognitive emphasis in the curriculum, and that the cognitive should more often be approached through the affective domain.

(5) That despite an increased aura of permissiveness, the freedoms enjoyed should be freedom *to* accomplish, *to* learn, and *to* produce—not freedom *from* responsibility or *from* the need for the individual to contribute.

(6) That changes will need to be made in current incentive and reward structures so that teachers and students alike—at all educational levels—will be motivated to adapt themselves to new and broadened concepts of performance, achievement, and "success."

(7) Finally, that practice should more widely precede theory; that ideas and procedures should be tried out as one of the processes *antecedent* to becoming accepted educational theory.

With this preamble, attention now turns to a description of a modified organizational structure for the schools as implied in the suggestions of policy researchers.

A Rationale for Structural Change

Changes in infrastructure suggested by our survey interviews would move the schools toward the vitalizing idea of a lifelong educational continuum of schooling. It would be somewhat more complex than current organizational plans because of its widened scope and lengthened sequence, its variability and flexibility. But such a continuum also should be easier to administer because of the increased autonomy of individual units. It also should quickly become apparent to the reader that many of the ideas embodied in a lifelong continuum are not novel ones. Many of the pieces of the infrastructure are already in place in a small number of schools, and all of the pieces are on the inventory list of U.S. educational ideas. The contribution of the structure that emerges below lies in the *Gestalt* which it creates–the new mosaic of perceptions which have not heretofore been seen in a clear interrelationship.

The rationale for abandonment of the graded structure in present day schools in favor of a continuum can be stated as follows:

(1) Human beings are unique, grow and learn at different rates, have accumulated quite different bodies of experiential input, and have diverse self-concepts and role images with respect to the future. Ergo, schooling should acknowledge the fact of these differences and drop the "impossible dream" of seeking to bring children and youth up to arbitrary and uniform standards of academic and social performance.

(2) Learning is continuous, and reasons for a nine-month September-June school year have lost whatever validity they once may have had. Ergo, with appropriate physical changes such as air conditioning for schools located in warm areas, we should be able to modify programs to permit children to attend for a total of 180 to 200 days, but spread throughout the year. The actual timing of attendance would be determined by professional judgment, family circumstances, efficient use of the school environment,[3] and the future development of teaching materials that can be used at home.

(3) Education, and the need for some type of experiences which schools can provide, extends throughout life. There are human needs at 40, 60, and even past age 70 that are as real as they are at age 5 or 15 or 25. There are needs for new skills as technosocial changes emerge, and for new

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[3] Theoretically, genuine year-around use of school facilities might increase their total annual occupancy by 20 to 25 per cent; i.e., at least 120 children could occupy the space used by 100 children, and with less crowding.

> knowledge in fields in which one studied a quarter of a century before. Also there are the steadily growing challenges of the constructive use of leisure, of preparation for post-retirement careers as life spans lengthen, and, of course, for interests and activities that can be encouraged and thus make old age something less to be dreaded.

On the basis of the rationale presented above, in what type of infrastructure do a substantial number of policy research specialists see merit?

Uninterrupted Educational Progress in a Seamless Curriculum

Perhaps a simple statement, accompanied by uncomplicated models, is the best means of capturing the educational significance of lifelong opportunities for learning and of depicting the idea of a seamless continuum. We begin with education for the youngest.

Early childhood education. Although a seamless curriculum has no conventional segments, such as "pre-school" or "middle-school," such familiar terms are used to facilitate an understanding of the learner's progress through a continuum.

The child's first direct contacts with the educational community would occur near the date of his second birthday when non-school preschool experiences would begin. This would include obtaining data from physical and mental examinations, compiling background information, and so on. The non-school preschool interval also would provide a beginning for computerized cumulative record forms for what might become a nationwide student data bank.

Depending on his maturity, direct contact with a school program would begin near a child's third birthday. At this point he would, for half-days, enter a minischool group of six or eight other three-year-olds directed by a paraprofessional who, in turn, is supervised (along with six or eight other paraprofessionals) by a teacher-consultant with full credentials and experience. Work in the minischool would be educational rather than custodial, carried forward on a "developmental" basis–one deliberately designed to provide socialization and rich cognitive input. This input is gaining greater importance as it becomes recognized that meaningful experiences may very well be the raw material of what is subsequently measured as intelligence.[4] This does not, however, imply a need to provide early "academic" experience in reading or mathematics.

When he is approximately four (in the seamless curriculum), a child would find himself transposed[5] to the *pre-primary component* of the curriculum. He would move from the minischool when deemed ready, not at a set calendar date. Administratively, the change would be analagous to the processes involved when mid-semester transfer pupils appear in a new classroom because their parents have moved to a different school district. Furthermore, the pre-primary period proposed here is not the same as most contemporary four- and five-year-old kindergartens. It would be more of an educational "ready-room" than a custodial "romper-room," a learning center with methodical input rather than a custodial center featuring supervised care and entertainment.

During the variable interval that a child spent in the pre-primary continuum, emphathizing teachers would create an interesting, challenging climate and help each student to reach an optimum point before his transition into the program designed for him during the primary years. The fast-learning and mature, perhaps two or three youngsters out of a total of 50, might move from the primary continuum into the primary school in as little time as one year, and as early as at age five, to work with children of six or seven. Conversely, some boys and girls (among them the physically handicapped, disadvantaged, culturally deprived, or slow maturing) might need to invest their time in three or even four make-ready years and postpone any extensive work with six- or seven-year-olds until they were eight and occasionally even nine.

During the primary years, which are conceived to be an integral part of a continuum beginning in early childhood, most children would be from six to nine years of age. But the groups in which they work would *not* be based on chronological age. Instead they would be ephemeral groupings built around emergent projects involving inquiry, exploratory, expressive, and cognitive ventures in which a varied mix of ages would be found—just as such children now work or play in informal, neighborhood groups.

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[4] Cf., for example, reports from the Milwaukee Project begun in 1966 with HEW funding.

[5] The term "transposed" is used in lieu of "promoted." Presumably one cannot be promoted in an unbroken or seamless curriculum through which he moves without the artificial promotions that now take him from one grade to another.

The middle school years. In the seamless curriculum, the pupil would move, without interruption, from the primary continuum to the middle school continuum. The transposition would occur at whatever time during an unbroken school year that it became apparent (in the professional judgment of the faculty) that a young learner was ready to function in a predominantly 9- to 12-year age range rather than in a predominantly 6- to 9-year age cluster or pod. In some instances, where children in the middle school years and primary years are housed in the same building, the child's translation to older working groups would be virtually undiscernible. In other instances, depending on the physical plant, a change in buildings would be involved.

The governing principles suggested for the primary continuum would tend to prevail in the middle school continuum. In the approximately three year span, the learner would spend from as little as two years to as many as five. The concepts of double promotion or "skipping" would totally disappear, however. So would the retardation practice of "flunking." In a personalized continuum, one would move at his own speed without reference to group norms.[6] In the process, over a period of time, the age range of children in the primary and middle school phases of the continuum would and should extend so that eventually the elementary age range would be not from 6 to 12 years as at present, but would extend to include a 5- to 15-year-old age range—exclusive of programs for early childhood groups ranging from age two or three to ages five and six.

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[6] The concept of "group norms" based on evaluation instruments would disappear. They would be replaced by "personalized norms;" i.e., quantified data on samplings of personal progress data for large groups of individuals sharing certain characteristics as to health, sex, intelligence, and so forth. This does not mean that standards would be abolished but the criteria would be different. That is, two persons of widely different abilities and performance levels might be equally successful if each performed at his full capacity.

New secondary school concepts: the paracurriculum. Although the more structured content of many secondary schools would require some adjustments, the idea of uninterrupted progress should continue in the high school phase. This would involve careful guidance of the individual learner, abandonment of many rigid contemporary requirements for admission and for an exit, and require considerable re-education on the part of those teachers who are predominantly subject-and-semester minded. Improving educational technologies, the development of more sophisticated programmed materials, and the increased use of differentiated staffing probably will ease many problems in a gradual transition to a continuum at the early and middle adolescent levels.

The most formidable impediment to changes in the secondary school program is likely to be found in the minds of teachers. Even those who quickly accept the merit of the seven points on pages 24-25 are likely to need considerable re-education with respect to cross-disciplinary approaches to subject matter, the flexible "teaching partnership" concept, and teaching to develop sought attitudes and values in addition to content *per se.*

One of the most interesting and least explored developments implicit in the continuum is the concept of the *paracurriculum* and its implications for major modifications in the compulsory education laws presently found in many states in the union. The paracurriculum concept recognizes that schooling provides only a part of the experiential input which adds up to the learner's education. Indeed, in many instances the non-school learnings of children and youth may be by far the most extensive (and sometimes the most valuable) components or factors in helping him to cope with, manipulate, and control his environment.

The term "paracurriculum" should perhaps be defined further. The word refers to the body of out-of-school experiences—formal or informal—which help to strengthen the intellectual ability, general background, and coping powers of the child or youth. To whatever extent possible, secondary and post-secondary education institutions should deliberately plan to make greater and more deliberate use of the paracurriculum.[7] The formal paracurriculum—the world of non-school experiences for which the school is sometimes a participatory planner and for which it may serve as a broker—parallels the curriculum as the name obviously suggests. The paracurriculum involves world-of-work experiences, sometimes without but usually with pay, which temporarily or permanently replace in-school activities.

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[7] The same generalization holds true for the early childhood and middle school years, but the paracurricular experiences of 3- to 12-year-olds would vary in nature and degree from those of adolescents, and children would remain enrolled in school.

As conceived here:

(1) At age 15, perhaps even as early as age 13 in rare instances, a student for whom it is judged appropriate could engage in a useful vocational activity without attending school.

(2) His lateral move from the world of the school to the "real world" would be arranged or "brokered" by the school, a process which involves teachers' professional judgments, in-depth counseling, parental understanding, consent support and cooperation, and close working relationships with employers who are socially aware and willing to offer their enterprises as alternatives to conventional schooling without exploiting 14- to 16-year-old worker-learners.

(3) The paracurriculum would eliminate "push-outs" and dropouts. One does not drop out of the educational continuum; he moves at a 90 degree angle into planned paracurricular learnings and continues his education in what, hopefully, will be an experience of increased educational significance.

(4) An integral part of the paracurriculum is the privilege of infinite, methodically planned, lifelong exit and re-entry privileges carefully coordinated through enlightened guidance practices.

(5) The continuum of schooling and the paracurriculum are portrayed as being almost as intimately related as Siamese twins; and both deeply involve the educational community. By age 14, after approximately a decade of guided, personalized progress, the early adolescent would be helped to move from curriculum to paracurriculum and vice versa without problems and without any clinging stigma. Fur-

thermore, with graded structures abandoned, there would no longer be an eighth grade group or a sophomore class from which to withdraw. Age ranges, greatly increased by the flexible and often ephemeral and functional approaches to grouping, would also make exit and re-entry inconspicuous and matter-of-fact, as in graduate study where persons in their early twenties may rub shoulders with students twice their age.

(6) As envisioned here, the paracurricular concept is not a limited innovation applicable only at the early adolescent level. Rather it is part of the total warp and woof of lifelong education. It is applicable even in early childhood in the form of simple community service contributions (e.g., keeping a park or playground clean) and in the learner's later maturity, when perhaps at 60, he returns from the paracurricular to the curricular realm with the hope of making his retirement more meaningful or a post-retirement job feasible through further education.

Despite the novel organizational configuration of the paracurricular concept, it is made up of components that have already been discussed and sometimes introduced on the U.S. educational scene under such labels as "socially useful work," "continuing education," or "paid internships." As the idea of a seamless, lifelong, year-around educational continuum gains acceptance, the paracurricular concept might well become a viable and important concomitant source or launching pad for many alternative approaches to learning in the educational future. It clearly reflects the idea that we do not need alternatives to schools, so much as we need more alternatives *within* the established educational community.

Post-secondary education. Our resume of possible changes in the infrastructure of U.S. education, as inferred from futures research, now is described with reference to the final phase of the continuum: the post-secondary phase, including, of course, the university, but also embracing forms of non-collegiate post-secondary learning resources.

The post-secondary student might either be a person who had completed four years (or the equivalent) of secondary (curricular) education or be someone who had been continuing his education in world-of-work (paracurricular) activities. In either case, he would not be deprived of access to, or of the opportunity to complete, whatever components of education that brought him personal satisfaction or increased the likelihood of vocational success.

In this infrastructure, "secondary" and "post-secondary" education are an uninterrupted continuum. They are paralleled by the lifelong paracurriculum and intimately interlinked by infinite exit and re-entry privileges which insure that no one at any age is deprived of post-secondary educational opportunities from which he believes he can profit.

A distinction is made in the proposed infrastructure of the continuum between secondary/post-secondary education and credentialed *university* education. Presumably, for the foreseeable future, the culture will maintain levels of study leading to advanced certificates or degrees and continue to rely on certification or similar credentials in an effort to insure that persons are qualified—insofar as laboratories, examinations, classrooms, clinics, and supervised experiences can qualify them—to enter a given professional or service field.[8]

Post-secondary education, in this concept, is also intended to portray a growing recognition in the future of the need for persons of 40, 60, or older to be able to participate either steadily or periodically in many forms of what was known as adult education or "night school" in past decades. The main differences in provisions for lifelong post-secondary education as depicted here resides in:

(1) Imaginative and relevant changes in the curricular and paracurricular offerings at the post-secondary level including not only new, pertinent community college or commu-

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[8] Opinions of policy researchers regarding the nature and extent of the preparation of teachers aides, paramedics, technicians, and the like are varied. Considerable opposition exists to extensive formal preparation lest, by such preparation, various paraprofessionals become specialized to the point that, say, as teachers aides, they price themselves out of the market by becoming more skilled than need be for services in schools with differentiated staffing.

niversity programs, but also changes in the secondary program. In keeping with the "seamless continuum" concept, for the purposes of mature learners,[9] *all* educational resources should be open to them on a non-credit basis, with the prerogative of taking examinations if they decide later to seek credit for post-secondary advanced study in the university education channel.

(2) Gradual but fundamental changes in certain contemporary images of and practices in liberal arts colleges. In effect, the present-day four-year arts and science component of the university would *become* the communiversity, but with appreciably expanded purpose, scope, and non-credit enrollment. While retaining much of their traditional content and general education function, arts and science offerings would be expanded or modified to meet the needs of more learners of all ages and would "find room in the folds of their academic robes" for every viable form of post-secondary learning to which learners aspired.

(3) A flexible viewpoint regarding grouping for learning as well as creating a psychological climate for learners of a much wider age-range. Teachers at the secondary and communiversity levels as well as in the university need to become adjusted to working with qualified learners of virtually all ages as the multiple exit and re-entry concept penetrates educational practice. A precedent—as noted earlier—may be found in university graduate study where, in a given class or seminar, persons in their early twenties may work and study with individuals 30 years their seniors.

(4) Ways must be explored to permit mature learners to return as "come-backs" or "drop-ins," a reversal of the present dropout phenomenon. This involves cooperative,

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[9] Some British institutions have a "mature student" category which not only permits but encourages eclectic as well as prescribed studies; that category might be explored more fully in the U.S.

enlightened policy planning by industry, government, and education. Job security, imaginative financial provisions, and changes in employment and retirement policies are a few of the elements that seem certain to be involved in lifelong learning opportunities.

The modified organizational infrastructure which has been briefly described above is not capable of existing—nor is it even possible to create—without certain substantial changes in the deployment of teachers in all fields of endeavor. What needs and possibilities here seem to be congruent with the research and thinking in the realm of futures research?

Deployment of School Staff

Among alternative educational futures is the possibility that the current concept of team teaching needs to be extended or at least appreciably modified to develop "teaching partnerships," especially if the continuum concept is introduced on a widening scale. The teaching partnership is depicted in Figure 1 which follows.

Although the model illustrates a teaching partnership as it might appear in the primary or middle school phases of a seamless educational continuum, the basic ideas are applicable even in a departmental structure at the university level. This staff deployment involves:

(1) The basic idea of differentiated staffing with a "senior partner," certificated teachers (numbers 1-4), paraprofessionals (P) serving as teacher aides, and residents (R) who are fully qualified teachers either in their first or second year or more mature teachers returning, after some years of absence, to ready themselves for participation in new instructional roles.[10]

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[10] The residency concept would be especially important during the next decade since many universities are not now preparing teachers to work either in teams or in differentiated teaching partnerships. The residency should serve to provide the necessary apprenticeship or added preparation that often is needed.

(2) Since the "continuum school" presumably would operate on a 12-month year, it would employ more teachers, aides, and residents than actually are on duty at a given time. This point is depicted by the "X," "Y," and "Z" enclosed by broken lines. The "X," for instance, symbolizes a teacher who does not have a classroom duty assignment at a given interval. He may be working on a curriculum or materials preparation assignment, engaging in professional study or research, or taking some vacation or leave time. With appropriate modifications the same generalizations apply to teacher's aide "Y" and to resident "Z."

(3) As suggested by Figure 1, the "teaching partnership approach" influences staff deployment on a wider basis than the flexible teaching cluster, *per se.* The lefthand heading, "Concomitant Resources," suggests other new staffing strategies including "administrative resources in the form of principal *teams.*" Instead of working on a one-principal-to-one-building basis, a team of, say, four persons, could serve as special leadership consultants in four buildings, plan as a cooperative group, and spend their time as professional judgment dictated. All four might be in one building for a week, for example, or be engaged in any number of individual variations of time-investment.

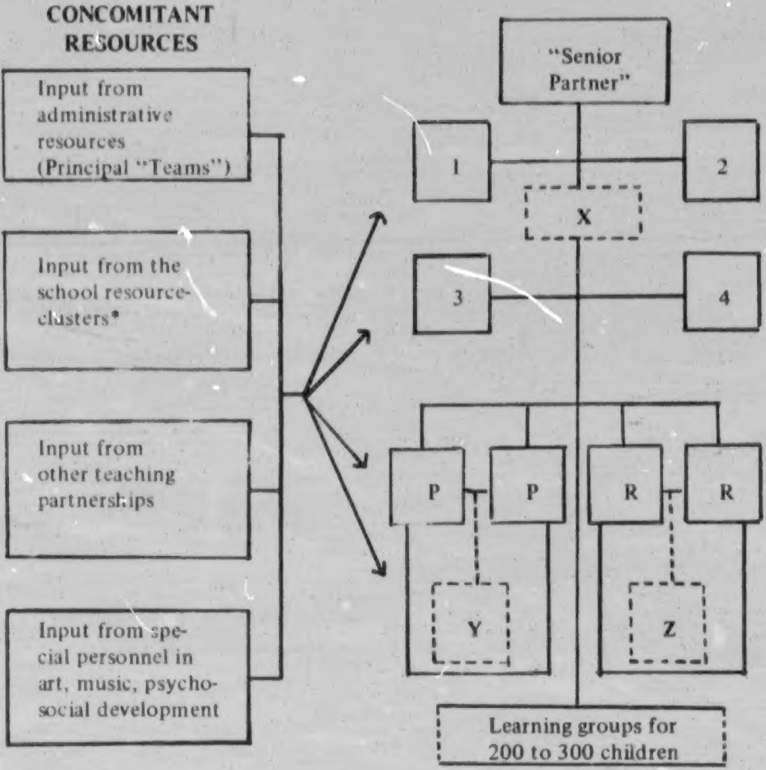
(4) Various characteristics of the teaching partnership are listed below. They serve as a summary of various qualities of the seamless curriculum mentioned earlier and which have a bearing on the differentiated staffing in the partnership.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MODEL

(IN FIGURE 1)

1. Flexible teaching partnerships
2. A seamless curriculum continuum
3. Variable professional responsibilities
4. Shared contacts with several learning groups
5. Personalized instruction
6. 12-month "overstaffing"
7. Principal "teams"
8. Individually variable school year
9. Increased use of paraprofessionals (P) and residents (R)
10. Academic balance among partners
11. "Open school" concept
12. "Fail-safe" guidance

FIGURE 1. DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING MODEL


CONCOMITANT RESOURCES
Input from administrative resources (Principal "Teams")
Input from the school resource-clusters*
Input from other teaching partnerships
Input from special personnel in art, music, psycho-social development
"Senior Partner"
1
2
X
3
4
P
P
R
R
Y
Z
Learning groups for 200 to 300 children

*Resource-cluster components include: (1) a guidance center, (2) computer facilities, (3) materials development staff, (4) instructional systems-technology cadre, (5) biochemeducationists, (6) human relations center, (7) student resources center, (8) evaluation-assessment and performance analysis center.

MODEL OF THE TEACHING PARTNERSHIP
AND ITS ASSOCIATED SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Like an ancient Gaelic or Greek triskelion, the seamless curriculum has three branches. We have discussed infrastructure and staff deployment in education. Now what do policy research specialists have to say about changes in the content of instruction during the coming decade?

Subject Matter for the Next Decade

Both "idealistic" and "realistic" perceptions need to be considered. As one might logically infer, futures research personnel were deeply interested in educating children and youth to develop their ability (1) to recognize and to select wisely among alternative futures, (2) to develop skills–including "process" skills–needed to implement desirable futures, and (3) to devise motivating experiences that would prompt young learners to become realistic in their views and active in working for a more viable society both in the U.S. and internationally.

These three aims presumably would permeate or at least influence the selection and design of subject matter for a seamless, personalized curriculum and paracurriculum. At the same time it was difficult to obtain many specific suggestions for changes in content from futures planners except in the most global of terms. While often willing to draft general plans, the social, behavioral, physical, and biological scientists, logicians, engineers, mathematicians and so on participating in the present survey felt that it was the prerogative of professional educationists to determine policies. They therefore expressed few highly specific ideas regarding the scope, sequence, timing, and pacing of what was taught. To put it concisely, most policy decision personnel advocated reforms in conventional education without prescribing many precise new practices. Considering the alternative, this seems a highly desirable posture!

In general, then, there was agreement on the broad aims to be sought through instruction and warm acceptance of the need for schooling to develop moral and emotional strengths, to improve physical well-being, and to nurture cognitive power. As might have been expected among a scholarly group (a large majority of the survey participants had at least one earned doctorate), there was great respect for an education to insure mastery over whatever skills an individual could achieve mastery. But there was also widespread recognition for the point that many different ceilings-of-academic-achievement should be recognized in both curriculum and paracurriculum. As a consequence, education must reverse its present stubborn and obsolete practice of overemphasizing the fancied socioeconomic and social status advantages to be gained by entering vocations associated with professional, managerial, ownership, or executive-type roles. Conversely, not enough stress was being placed on the dignity and importance of all kinds of labor with hands as well as minds or on the many kinds of technical jobs open to persons without a college degree.

The typical futures research person emerged as an "idealist" in the sense of seeking curriculum content for better alternative futures and as a "realist" in the sense that he saw a continued need to maintain many long-established educational values, firm rather than harsh intellectual discipline, fair but not unreasonable standards for individual accomplishment, and the need for mastery of substantive content on the part of those whose contributions to society would thereby be increased.

Emerging Characteristics of "New" Curricular Content

Rather than radical changes in the nature of what was taught, futures researchers felt that major changes were required in what was *emphasized* in a seamless curriculum. Let us look at plausible new content and emphases based on inferences from our interview data, but not on specific content in a given subject.[11]

First, and perhaps foremost, stress would be placed upon regaining (in a more enlightened form) the social discipline that gave Western man and perhaps most of mankind a sense of direction before the present value crisis, which with its relativism and permissive qualities, interfered with the steady whirl of the culturally imposed "inner gyroscope" that provided a course for the individual to follow—or at least to refer to—earlier in the present century.

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[11] A number of readers will note that some of the curricular changes are aimed at slowing or reversing certain possible outcomes of the "Basic, Long-Term Multifold Trend" identified by Kahn and Wiener on page 7 in *The Year 2000* (1967), and by Kahn and Briggs in Chapter I of *Things to Come: Thinking About the 70's and 80's* (1972).

Second, through education, an assault would be made on the strongly cemented redoubts of materialism; most specifically on the culture's misplaced confidence in materialism—"in consumer stuff"—as the most important goal of life. As David Riesman once noted, the morale of even a meritocracy can be ". . . undermined because its scientific and rationalist temper has no religious basis and the system no transcendent aims, no goal beyond its own further advance."[12] Policy decision specialists would appear to agree that material goods in themselves leave the deeper longings of the human spirit or psyche unsatisfied and can surround us with more and more ecological threats unless—through education—we direct attention to changing our "thing-centered" values and heretofore unchecked appetite for consumer goods.

Third, the dangers and problems of the naive use of technology (as powerfully presented by Barry Commoner[13] when he portrays problems in our ecosphere) would provide appreciable content.[14] The attitudes uniformly expressed during the survey not only supported the importance of technology in bettering man's lot in most parts of the world, but also reflected the overwhelming need, through the prudent use of technology, to ease the problems of unthinking use of *La Technique* as Jacques Ellul called it. At all age levels, the need to rethink the use made of technology could be injected into the curriculum, especially in relation to deterioration of the biosphere.

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[12] Herbert J. Muller, *The Children of Frankenstein* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 403.

[13] Cf. especially Chapter 9 in his *The Closing Circle* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971). Here Commoner uses persuasive data to illustrate where we erred in the use of technology after World War II, an era during which ". . . productive technologies with intense impacts on the environment have replaced less destructive ones" (p. 177).

[14] It must be recognized that the new curricular emphases presented would assume many and different forms with children of varied age levels. With younger learners, a way of ecologically sound living would be based mostly on example and simple precept. In the university phase of the curriculum continuum, however, one might, for example, in a school of architecture or engineering find that *how* to build an airport or a thousand foot building is carefully linked to the study of *whether* and, if so, *where* construction occurs to avoid further damage to the bioshpere. Here is an example, too, of cross-disciplinary study in heretofore "unrelated" fields such as architecture and biology or biochemistry.

Fourth, the curriculum should begin to respond more adequately to the threat of damage to the biosphere—damage that could be profound and irreversible. Already, some futurists feel, the present scene is a mask for pending global catastrophe. While few if any are as pessimistic as Paul Ehrlich, or as harsh as William and Paul Paddock in *Famine 1975*,[15] all probably would agree that "since the environmental crisis is the result of the social mismanagement of the world's resources, then it can be resolved and man can survive in a humane condition when the social organization of man is brought into harmony with the ecosphere."[16] Patently, education would have an important role here when and if major social decisions are reached with respect to national policy—and there is a great deal of groundwork to be begun in the schools during the next few years.

Fifth, most futurists apparently would like to see the schools face up to the fact that in the U.S. there is no really satisfactory coping doctrine for a major and almost totally ignored dilemma of democracy. This is the point that, as judged by the overt evidence, most Americans are unwilling to settle for a merely egalitarian society. Instead they view "democracy" as a social order in which they are free to gamble on attaining "equality" with the top 10 per cent, with no intention of attaining equity for all. Many of the concepts of the "Founding Fathers" have so far managed to survive because of political ingenuity, compromise, and the ability of the social establishment heretofore to accommodate a great deal of upward mobility. But education in the next decade may need to emphasize concepts of greater equity in democracy and discard the dream that everyone can rise above his father's status in life.

Sixth, education needs to continue to sensitize the learner to the problems and to the neo-Malthusian dangers in unrestricted breeding. Futurists vary as to dates at which the problem might become catastrophic,[17] but there is universal agreement that education for population control is imperative.

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[15] William and Paul Paddock, *Famine 1975* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), Cf. esp. p. 226ff.

[16] Commoner, *The Closing Circle*, p. 299.

[17] One gloomy estimate by the Scandinavian scientist, Ehrensvaerd, is that beginning in 2050 the world population will shrink from over 12 billion to 3 billion. The latter figure represents all the people that the diminished resources of the world can sustain in 2070 if present rates of consumption and increases in consumption are projected. He concludes that 10 billion people will die off (2020 to 2050 A.D.) in the process of stabilizing population at the 1970 figures of 3 billion.

Seventh, and last, a number of futures researchers doubtless would urge new educational input to assist learners to cope with the potential power of mass media in shaping opinions and attitudes. Also, the post-elementary curriculum would be shaped by the study of possible dangers in mind control by other means (e.g., chemical and electrical stimuli) in addition to television, radio, or publications.

It seems self-evident that many changes in our current society will need to be encouraged before the merits of the seamless curriculum attain widespread acceptance. These include giving up some of the importance we have learned to attach to material things, a reassessment of how we interpret democracy and equity, breaking away from the age-grade lockstep to which we have been conditioned for a century or more, and divorcing our thinking from long-accepted ideas of failure, and a myriad of similar beliefs and traditions which presently determine or influence educational thought and practice. But the potential for change and for reconditioning our thinking probably has never been greater than at present as so many appealing and appalling alternatives for the future present themselves in the last quarter of humankind's most phrenetic century in history.

Effects on Teacher Education

The seven points above imply substantial innovations in teacher preparation, perhaps with regard to residencies for teachers to acclimate them to open education during a period when programs in teacher education shift from an emphasis on self-contained classrooms to more flexible staff deployment as in teaching partnerships.

Futures research personnel, as of 1971-1972, had a great deal of respect for the potential importance of education in the arenas of socially desirable change. They saw schooling as extending downward and upward to encompass both younger and older learners. Likewise, the curriculum was seen as becoming more flexible and easier to administer than when hampered by traditional structure and practices, yet at the same time more complex in its provisions for improving personalized, lifelong post-secondary education.

Sweeping changes of a novel nature were not anticipated in the present content of the curriculum with respect to mathematics, language, or science, but major reformations in what was emphasized in the various disciplines was clearly encouraged by the views of policy research workers.

The writer was left with the impression that education had a large number of valuable innovations already stored in the educational idea-bin. Many of these have already been supported by agencies such as the USOE–but they need to be put together in a mosaic or a *Gestalt* in order to carry U.S. schools toward the broad alternative horizons which futurists were contemplating with feelings of urgency that were nonetheless blended with basic confidence. The writer also felt, at the close of the present inquiry, that the USOE and NIE should consider proposed ventures that they repeatedly are urged to support in the context of the kind of alternative future which such research or demonstration contemplates or proposes to explore. In short, the USOE should "buy into" projects which show awareness of, and hold a promise of carrying us toward, a lifelong continuum of education.

The self-fulfilling prophecies which are believed and accepted by persons in top leadership positions in funding and change agencies such as the USOE already have triggered many developments and activities. Selected proposals can be institutionalized–can be clothed in reality–by selective deployment of funds and by commissioning research of change strategies that will carry U.S. education beyond its locked-in segmentation and norms to lifelong provision for self-realization through more flexible, humane, and insightful schooling.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES TO CREATE THE FUTURE

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The pressing need for a redefinition of human life on this planet seems self-evident; yet ostrich-like planners and forecasters insist on perpetuating culpable ignorance by shifting the focus of attention to the precise mathematical formulae employed by those who forecast global collapse. Does it really matter greatly whether the major finite resources will be depleted in 150 years or 250 years? Does it really matter that unforecasted technology may stave off the collapse for an additional one hundred years?

The fact that there are some technical inaccuracies in *The Limits to Growth* seems almost irrelevant; the basic premises and general conclusions are valid stimuli indicating the urgent need to work together to create a livable and equitable future.[1]

The general conclusions in *The Limits to Growth* are:

1. If the present growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production, and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years. The most probable result will be a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity.
2. It is possible to alter these growth trends and to establish a condition of ecological and economic stability that is

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[1] Donella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows, Jorgen Randers, and William W. Behrens III, *The Limits to Growth* (New York: Universe Books, 1972).

sustainable far into the future. The state of global equilibrium could be designed so that the basic material needs of each person on earth are satisfied and each person has an equal opportunity to realize his individual human potential.

3. If the world's people decide to strive for this second outcome rather than the first, the sooner they begin working to attain it, the greater will be their chances of success.[2]

Many have argued that these conclusions are "gloom and doom" projections that ignore man's inventive and problem-solving ability and his will to survive. It seems to me that the conclusions are quite the opposite; possibly the detractors in their very statements are indicating *their* lack of faith and trust in man's ability to change.

The purpose of this chapter is to suggest a planning framework by which to begin to generate research and development questions that can help us determine the essential changes that need to be made in our current educational systems. The sequence of topics to be examined are: (1) planning for the future, (2) images of the future, (3) inadequacies of current educational research and development efforts, (4) a recommended research and development agenda for creating the future, and (5) possible actions.

Planning for the Future

The rapid pace of change, coupled with institutional rigidification in many cases, has convinced most people that the future is not within their control. The current plethora of writings regarding the future devote page upon page to discussing the rapidity of change, particularly technological change, and, then, most often in the last chapter, ask how man will adapt to these changes. Seldom, if ever, does a futuristic writer ever question whether or not mankind wants or needs the technological futures being proposed. If one proposes, as I do, that man not only can but must cooperatively create the future, such statements are treated as idealistic or utopian nonsense: how could mankind ever reach agreement on what he wants the future to be; and if he did, how could he ever make the changes necessary to bring it about? If we continue to hold such assumptions about man and the future, there may not be a future; the future, in fact, is now. We must begin immediately to create the future together.

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[2] Meadows *et al.* pp. 23-24.

Trend Analysis

Currently futures forecasting efforts focus almost exclusively on the trends and developments that are already in motion—for example, developments such as:

1. a national central data storage system.
2. use of drugs to increase intelligence.
3. genetic engineering.
4. extensive leisure time due to automation.
5. rapid successive careers.
6. ocean farming.
7. nuclear holocaust.
8. depletion of natural resources.
9. increased organ transplant.
10. elimination of cash payments.

Many such trends could in fact provide us with the opportunity to increase the quality of life for all; other trends may not, and certainly others are questionable. But in actuality we lack criteria by which to make such evaluations because we have not established and agreed upon what would be desirable as well as plausible. We must consider desirability and plausibility simultaneously; most current futures forecasting focuses its attention on plausibility only.

When we examine the available data regarding population, pollution, industrialization, food production, and resource depletion, with desirability in mind, it becomes quite apparent that we must begin now to radically adjust our assumptions about how we live. We, as educators, are in a position to influence the future through the students that we have contact with and our own behavioral change. We can provide them with experiences that allow them to develop skills, behaviors, attitudes, and values so that they can participate fully in the continuous creation of the future, rather than repeat the past as we do.

Images of the Future

Meadows *et al* suggest that the minimum set of requirements for a state of global equilibrium are:

1. The amount of capital in circulation and the population are constant in size. The birth rate equals the death rate and the capital investment rate equals the depreciation rate.
2. All input and output rates–births, deaths, investment, and depreciation–are kept to a minimum.
3. The levels of capital and population and the ratio of the two are set in accordance with the values of the society. They may be deliberately revised and slowly adjusted as the advance of technology creates new options.

The authors quickly indicate that their intention is to define a dynamic equilibrium as opposed to a static equilibrium: "The object in accepting the above three statements is to create freedom for society, not to impose a straitjacket."[3] This point is further developed by the authors of "A Blueprint for Survival":

Our task is to create a society which is sustainable and which will give the fullest possible satisfaction to its members. Such a society by definition would depend not on expansion but on stability. This does not mean to say that it would be stagnant—indeed it could well afford more variety than does the state of uniformity at present being imposed by the pursuit of technological efficiency.[4]

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[3] Meadows *et al*, pp. 173-74.

Additional characteristics of an equilibrium society might also include:

1. More leisure time due to "fixed" levels of capital and population.

2. Minimum level of material obsolescence; production would focus on quality rather than quantity.

3. Higher standard of living for the majority of the global population who do not now have such—and a lower standard of living for others (by current definitions).

4. A symbiosis between man and environment.

Some see these characteristics as constraints to man's freedom; others of us would argue that such constraints can provide man with the opportunity to allocate his time and energy to fulfilling higher level needs rather than the emphasis that now necessarily exists on fulfilling basic needs. Rather than excessive emphasis on providing food, shelter and clothing, man could emphasize individual and collective self-actualization, understanding, and communicating with one another, and could further emphasize creating a liberating future.

What are some possible humanistic interpretations of an equilibrium society? The possibilities mentioned below are limited by man's past and present visions of desirable states of being. This writer is convinced that synergistic possibilities lie ahead that we at the moment cannot conceptualize. Our current advantage over past utopian visions is that such vision must be operationalized if we are to survive.

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[4] "A Blueprint for Survival," *The Ecologist*, 2, 1, Jan., 1972, p. 6.

Designing and agreeing upon a future does not imply a thoroughly defined, and therefore static, reality, but rather a sense of direction defined broadly in normative terms–normative terms that necessitate behavioral change in man. A normatively defined future provides criteria by which to evaluate: (1) the current state of being, (2) the diversity of trends in motion, and (3) current decisions and plans. Many futures writers begin by defining the variety of social and technological trends now in motion and immediately ask, "What behavioral changes must man make to adapt to these trends?" I suggest that the questions must be: What values do we, collectively, want to guide man's behavior in the future? What behavioral changes must we begin to learn now? What existing factors and trends now in motion will facilitate these changes? Which factors and trends will impede achieving their creation?

There is reason to believe that the form of one's future assumptions is correlated to the form of one's present. If you have positive assumptions about your future, then you tend to be more optimistic about the present. If you believe the future to contain negative experiences, then the view of the present will be more pessimistic and you will tend to resist change because change will lead to those negative experiences you expect. The past and present are unchangeable. The only point that is changeable is the set of assumptions and possibilities you recognize in your future.[5]

Possibilities of an Equilibrium Society

Some of the old and new visions that might be possible in an equilibrium society are:

1. **Temporary Systems**

   a. The reduction in production pressures and the need for inventive production and recycling processes will require multiple skills in interaction. Such activity will require the ability to work with temporary groups in collaborative and creative relationships. Hence, organizations will rely less on defined positions and roles.

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[5] Adapted from an unpublished paper by J. Glenn, "Psychological Issues of Future Cognition and Their Ethical Implications" (no date).

b. There can be greater opportunity for individuals to learn new skills while simultaneously contributing current skills in a temporary system.

c. Greater opportunity for more personal interrelationships in a total life context will require the ability to form and release interpersonal relationships more rapidly in temporary systems—work situations, community participation, and new family patterns.

d. There can be more time to know, understand, and respect diverse individuals with diverse life-styles; the unknown can become less threatening.

2. New Forms of and a Redefinition of Labor

a. The reduction of production, the need for recycling, and the need to equalize world resources will require that the major category of labor be oriented to serving human needs; collaborative systems will be designed to meet basic needs so that individuals can direct more energy to achieving higher level needs.

b. Aesthetic activity will be defined as a contributing labor benefiting the society.

c. Some deprofessionalization of labor, especially in health, education, law and engineering, can occur. People will have more opportunity to perform many of the tasks in these areas themselves. The availability of information will demystify these endeavors.

3. Participatory Decision-Making

a. Temporary systems, to be effective, will demand participatory decision-making.

b. The need for a collaboratively designed future will require smaller, cluster-groupings of population with communications networks that interface the clusters when necessary for larger decision-making purposes. Smaller communities will enhance the possibility to achieve internal growth constraints through public participation in decision-making, rather than arbitrary restrictions imposed by a remote and unsympathetic government.[6]

c. A stable society could cultivate diversity which would be reinforced by decentralized communities.

4. **Cooperation** would necessarily predominate over competition as a norm to guide the behavior of individuals and groups.

5. **Individual life-integration** would be more possible. Currently our institutionalized structures reinforce the schizophrenia in individuals between their vocational life and their personal life.

As Polak notes, human dignity is a continuous theme throughout past and present futures writing, ". . . which has believed man to be capable of achieving social progress by virtue of his ability to determine his own destiny. To determine one's destiny by the conscious application of human power calls for purposive futures-thinking."[7]

Possible Characteristics of a Humanistic Equilibrium Society

What are the possible values and attitudes, behaviors, and skills implied by a humanistic equilibrium society?

To me there is a deductive logic inherent in the examples provided below in that each question moves slowly from the very general to the slightly specific, but simultaneously requires a personal commitment to not making a substance static that must be dynamic. The following are examples suggested to me as ideals to be approached by an equilibrium society:

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[6] Adapted from "A Blueprint for Survival," pp. 14-15.

[7] Fred L. Polak, *Prognostics: A Science in the Making Surveys and Creates the Future* (Amsterdam, Holland: Elsevier Pub. Co., 1971), p. 362.

I. **Values and Attitudes**

a. Less fear of the unknown and a greater trust and respect for diversity of people and life-styles will predominate.

b. A willingness to explore new patterns of interaction and flexibility rather than rigidity will characterize human behavior.

c. A high value on creativity as an essentiality for individual and collective survival and self-actualization will be realized.

d. An emphasis on the quality of life rather than the quantity of material possession will predominate.

e. A renewed social commitment to the value of human life will be operationalized.

f. A renewed respect for nature, as opposed to current beliefs that nature is here only for man's use, and a biosphere perspective and a respect for mutual interaccommodativeness will prevail.

g. Global loyalty rather than competitive nationalism will guide the interaction of populations in different geographic areas.

h. A willingness to share equally the world's resources will be achieved.

i. A reintegration of man's intellect, feelings, and body and a greater trust in sensory and emotional experience will be manifested in societal attitudes.

j. A greater emphasis on cooperation rather than competition will characterize the relations between individuals and between groups.

k. A belief in the unlimited potentiality of man individually and collectively will be evidenced in the support individuals receive from their institutions.

l. A commitment to achieve and maintain a balance between individual actions and the common good will characterize individual and government decision-making.

m. A belief in man's ability to collaboratively create and maintain a humanistic, dynamic, equilibrium society will serve as a mission shared by all.

n. Authority will derive from competence and knowledge, rather than from role and power.

o. Equal respect for manual, intellectual, and aesthetic endeavors will be manifested by equal respect and equality in the distribution of resources.

p. Individuals will delight in the multiple choices available at any decision point.

As suggested earlier, many of the values needed for the future are not new visions but rather a restatement of enduring values, but they are restated in terms of necessities for survival.

2. Behaviors

The behaviors and abilities suggested below represent the writer's perception of some of the ideal essential consistent behaviors that would be the possible result of the values and attitudes previously suggested.

a. Individuals will exhibit a high tolerance for ambiguity and be relaxed when confronted with uncertainty, and will have the emotional ability to struggle with problems for which there are not easy and specific answers.

b. When in problem-solving and planning situations, people will initiate an automatic searching for all possible alternatives and options, anticipate contingencies and predict long-range as well as short-range effects.

c. Persons will utilize a variety of holistic analytical techniques for problem-solving. Future man can no longer rely on precedent, linear forecasting, analogy, and extrapolation–all such methods assume a static world rather than a dynamic world.

d. Conceptualization will be characterized by an emphasis upon the interrelatedness of global parts–that is, the comprehension of complex wholes and the understanding of specific parts within the context of the complex whole.

e. Cognitive and affective processes that extend man's ability to conceptualize globally and in extensive time frames must be developed. Meadows *et al* note that "the majority of the world's people are concerned with matters that affect only family or friends over a short period of time. Others look farther ahead in time over a larger area–a city or nation. Only a very few people have a global perspective that extends far into the future."[8]

f. Groups will approach all decision-making activity committed to a collaborative process of consensual validation that seeks alternatives to win-lose models.

g. The continuous growth of individuals and groups will manifest the ability to approach individual and collective growth and development as a process of continuous self-renewal and the ability to initiate actions that insure self-renewal in individuals and groups.

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[8] Meadows *et al*, p. 19.

h. It will be expected that processes be initiated and sustained for value clarification for individuals and groups.

i. Most actions will be characterized by altruistic behavior.

j. Most interaction will be characterized by cooperative rather than competitive behavior.

k. Interpersonal communications and interaction will be formed and released rapidly.

l. Self and group discipline will be initiated to control the use of resources.

m. Sharing will be commonplace.

n. Individuals will be able to be self-reliant and group reliant, and be able to shift from one to another as necessary.

o. Persons will manage self-change and be able to participate in the management of group change.

p. Collaboration with others will be an expected behavior.

q. Authentic behavior that integrates intellect, feelings, and body will be exhibited at all times.

r. Persons will individually and collectively act for what is believed to be desirable.

s. The ability to communicate with a variety of individuals will be essential.

t. The initiation of acts that will further one's self-actualization will be a continuous process.

u. Risk-taking behavior will not be avoided.

Many of the aforegoing behaviors have been provided much communications space for centuries, but the discrepancy between rhetoric and action is still great.

3. **Skills**

The following general skills emerge from the behaviors listed. It is suggested that these skills might well replace many of the skills we currently learn in society's various educational institutions.

a. Information processing skills will be essential—especially the ability to store, retrieve, sort, and relate pertinent information to specific needs.

b. General and social systems analysis techniques will be required to better understand the complexity of various structures and to better perceive the reciprocity, the connections, and the interdependencies between and within systems.

c. Individual and group planning techniques will be needed so that individuals and groups can better make proactive decisions.

d. Value clarification techniques will need to be used extensively to clarify purposes and implicit values among alternative courses of action.

e. Individuals will need independent learning and unlearning techniques for their continuous growth and development.

f. Individual and group reinforcement techniques will be utilized to provide interpersonal support for individual and group growth and development.

g. Systems dynamics analysis and planning techniques will be widely used to understand the long-range consequences of current decisions.

h. A variety of communications techniques will be needed to enhance understanding between diverse individuals and groups.

i. Extensive linguistic ability in a variety of languages will be required to facilitate the development of global community and a respect for cultural diversity.

j. Most persons will need skill in a variety of manual skills to aid in the preservation and recycling of finite sources, and to facilitate comprehensive personal development.

k. Forecasting skills will be needed to anticipate short-range and long-range consequences of proposed actions.

l. Counseling and group dynamics techniques are needed to aid others in their process of development and to increase effective communications in groups.

m. Each person will be able to use a variety of conceptual frameworks.

n. Aesthetic skills for personal expression and the development of new images will be essential for persons to fully self-actualize, and for society to rise to new levels of synergy.

o. Skill in conflict management will be needed to aid communications, planning, and decision-making activities among diverse individuals and groups.

p. People will need techniques and processes to free sensory and emotional experience for full personal development.

Obviously there are many specific sub-skills inherent in each of the foregoing general skills. A futuristic educational research agenda would define such and begin to determine the alternative ways different people could learn such skills.

Most any textbook on education begins with a statement to the effect that the purpose of public education is to transmit the values and cultural heritage of the society. It would seem now that such a static purpose must be replaced by liberating educational processes (note I purposely avoid using the term schools) that free individuals to participate in a collective process of creating the future. Paulo Freire refers to our past and current educational processes as the "banking method of education" whereby we simply make deposits of "knowledge" in students.[9]

U Thant recently emphasized the need to use education to stimulate a global awareness:

> I am convinced that education has a major role to play in this change, in this "raising of consciousness" . . . the process of education to which I refer must include all age levels. . . . In addition, the courses, curriculums, and learning experiences to which our young people are subjected must of course have as the primary emphasis the enhancement of this global awareness. As an educator, my first concern, naturally, is acceleration of the processes of learning designed for this task.[10]

Polak indicates that the future itself should serve as the core theme of education: "'Future' as a subject of study will also have to aim at the formation of personal character as a social, volitional activism oriented towards the future, a schooling directed at volitional optimism which will be purposive and responsible and have faith in its own knowledge, ability and discrimination."[11]

Inadequacies of Current Educational Research

Educators, and particularly those educators engaged in research and development activities, have long struggled with their own identity crisis. They have been torn between the qualitative humanities orientation and the quantitative scientific orientation. This state of schizophrenia has often resulted in destructive carping between the advocates of each position and, therefore, has prevented us from investing our energies into developing processes and techniques that would create a synthesis between the qualitative and the quantitative. By and large public funds have been awarded to the empiricist, but because of the minuteness of such funds (less than one percent of all educational monies), it has been a shallow victory.

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[9] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

[10] U Thant, "Reflections of a Mediator," *World*, 1, 1, July 4, 1972, pp. 38-41.

[11] Polak, pp. 362-63.

The public insists on thoroughly researched and developed cars, cosmetics, and weapons of war, but, historically, has not provided money for similar demands upon education. Within the profession, we continue our endless, non-productive dialogue that separates the professionals in the schools from those in the universities from those in regional, state, and federal agencies. Schools and agencies, like lemmings, frantically dash from one fad to another –differentiated staffing, career education, programmed learning (remember pupil-team learning?). The university research and development center personnel continue to empirically study important topics such as:

1. The effects of scrap paper versus no scrap paper when taking Regents examinations.

2. Best time of day to give IQ tests.

3. Genetic inability to learn.

Now the public cry for accountability has sent most professionals scurrying for ways to do the same old crap more efficiently, and once again impotent educators are afraid to enter into a dialogue with the public to evaluate the assumptions of our current educational practices. If we look to the future, which none of us can avoid, then educational redesign must provide resources beyond another mere fad.

We must convince the public that our current limited research, development, and evaluation activities are all directed toward reinforcing the status quo. We must define our research questions so that such explorations can assist us in choosing alternative futures.

Simultaneously, we must invest the necessary resources to develop new research methods that are based on assumptions of interrelatedness, futures dynamics and humanistic concerns, as opposed to our current models that view reality as static and unrelated, and the future as simply an extention of the present. Charles Hampden-Turner notes: "Man is the maker of tools which shape his environment, guide his vision, claim his energies, and through this process make his destiny. When he uses these tools on himself and his fellow men, then it becomes especially important to ask how these tools affect his vision of humanity. Do the present methodologies, borrowed from physical science, do justice to the full range of human endowments?"[12]

Let me share with you some of Hampden-Turner's major criticisms of applying research methods of the physical sciences to social science research:

1. ". . . the adage that knowledge is power requires extensive redefinition in social science, for the kind of power that comes from the scientific knowledge of things is *physical* power *over* those things. In order to share freely among ourselves the fruits of psychological research, the fruits themselves must make possible the kind of power which mutually enhances both giver and receiver–that is, power *through* people."[13]

2. In prediction, control, and experimentation the capacity to predict and control the outcome of studies is a measure of how "scientific" an investigation is. The "object" of research is "reacting" within a theoretical framework of which he has little understanding and which is nine-tenths fixed in advance by the unilateral fiat of the investigator.[14]

3. The null hypothesis technique is based on the assumptions that objects or events must be regarded as random, that is, unrelated until correlation at a high degree of significance justifies the disproof of the null hypothesis. The voluminous literature on alienation, anomie, and conformity attests to the self-fulfilling prophecy of the techniques.[15]

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[12] Charles Hampden-Turner, *Radical Man* (Cambridge, Mass.: Shenkman Pub. Co., 1970), p. 1.

[13] Hampden-Turner, p. 3.

[14] Hampden-Turner, pp. 3-5.

[15] Hampden-Turner, pp. 5-6.

4. The traditional dichotomy between pure and applied science is false, nonproductive dichotomy that is reinforced by technical jargon. "Many social scientists have withdrawn into the mists on the mountain tops and can occasionally be seen mysteriously rotating factors and making multi-variate analyses." "Degrees of abstraction, reification, and deadness have become the status symbols of those who study humanity. . . ."[16]

5. Precision and invariability give social investigators the feeling of being scientists, especially precise and invariable patterns of behavior. Such a predisposition causes the investigator to seek out trivial, repetitive behavior.[17]

6. The emphasis on empiricism and physicalism forces social scientists to deal only with observable behavior. "The selection of visible externalities also contains a strong bias in favor of the status quo. The existing scheme of things can be observed and measured. . . ."[18]

7. The use of mathematics and reductive analysis to express the combination of separate parts assumes that the figures are additive, commutative, and associative. "There are two major problems in the analysis of social reality into its supposed parts. In the first place the parts may not retain all of the qualities of the whole. In the second place, the parts, though measurable in quantitative terms, may be neither additive, commutative, nor associative."[19]

8. The final fault of the scientist is the assumption that science is value-free. "What is meant by value free science is that tools can make no final judgments as to ends. But tools can, as we have seen, bring certain ends nearer by their

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[16] Hampden-Turner, pp. 6-7.

[17] Hampden-Turner, pp. 7-8.

[18] Hampden-Turner, pp. 8-9.

[19] Hampden-Turner, pp. 9-11.

> application, make other ends nearly impossible to attain, and leave vast areas of human endeavor undiscovered.[20]

The educational profession has not provided the leadership necessary to challenge the assumptions of the research methodologies or research topics we inherited. This lack of wisdom and leadership is eventually translated into the insane experiences we inflict on children every day in every school. Michael Apple appropriately notes, "It should be made clear that curriculum design, the creating of educative environments in which students are to dwell, is inherently a political and moral act. It involves competing ideological, political, and intensely personal conceptions of valuable educational activity."[21]

We, all those who are in any way part of the educational community, must begin to work together, rather than in separate empires, to bridge the gap between theory and practice, and between the past, the present, and the future.

An Agenda for Creating the Future

The need for the development of new research methodologies in education and the social sciences in general has been outlined. I would only add at this point that a return to Von Bertalanffy's[22] structuralism of interrelatedness could provide a fruitful point of initiation. Unfortunately, modern systems researchers leap-frogged the subtleties of the theory in their rush to develop control techniques.

Simultaneously we must engage with our populace in a discussion of our desired future and the meaning of education in reaching such a future.

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[20] Hampden-Turner, pp. 11-12.

[21] Michael W. Apple, "The Adequacy of Systems Management Procedure in Education," *The Journal of Educational Research*, 66, 1, September, 1972, p. 12.

[22] Ludwig Von Bertalanffy, *General System Theory* (New York: George Braziller, 1968).

We must clarify our hierarchy of values.

What are some possible specific learning experiences that might be researched and developed to begin now to help our children to create a future rather than simply inherit a future?

Based upon my previous analysis, I would suggest we immediately endeavor to find new ways to facilitate the learning of the following "futures" skills by children in our schools now:

1. Methods and techniques of futures forecasting to probe the possible consequences of alternative actions.
2. Experimentation with creating alternative futures using imagination, fantasy, and inventiveness.
3. Risk-taking experiences that stress independence, perseverance, and control of one's own destiny.
4. Continuous experiences in social responsibility.
5. Experience with individual and collective problem-solving.
6. Simulations and games that provide experience in residence by coping with unexpected emergencies.
7. Group decision-making experiences that necessitate a variety of collaborative processes.
8. Stress on general, transferable skills that can be utilized in a variety of vocations.
9. Periodic value-clarification confrontations.
10. Learning processes that stress confluency—that is, the integration of the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor abilities of students.
11. Introduce the concept of infinity early to provide a sense of limitless options.

12. Reinforce flexibility and tentativeness in thinking and feeling.

13. Facilitate ecological consciousness by providing continuous experiences with nature.

14. Reinforce altruistic behavior.

15. Foster a sense of global community.

16. Stress cooperation rather than competition.

17. Emphasize a generalist approach rather than a specialist approach to knowledge and skills.

18. Provide cognitive experiences that go beyond the first-order, intended effects of actions to the second-order, unintended effects of actions.

19. Holistic problem-solving experiences.

20. Frequent opportunities to collaboratively plan, design, initiate, and evaluate activities.

21. Multiple opportunities to develop a variety of manual skills.

22. Development of a wide range of aesthetic skills.

23. Opportunities to develop a wide range of communications skills.

24. Emphasis on group dynamics skills.

25. Individual and group experiences in formulating and achieving consensus on goals, objectives, and priorities.

26. Development of skills in macro and micro systems analysis so that each person has the ability to use a variety of analytical methods.

27. Development of a variety of information processing skills.

It seems conceptually possible to construct educational experiences for individuals of any age in the aforementioned areas. It would also seem desirable to conceptualize each total community as the "school," with all people having both a learning and teaching responsibility.

As this and similar research and development agendas are implemented, we must simultaneously develop research methodologies that go beyond our adaptations from the physical sciences; if we do otherwise, we might simply recreate the past.

Such an agenda as this will be met by many with comments to the effect that we already do many of these things in school. I think we can seriously challenge such claims. I am suggesting that such experiences as listed above should comprise the vast majority of our educational effort. Presently we know a little about most of these areas, but we need an intensive research and development effort to determine a variety of ways by which we can provide such experiences. We need also to find the best ways to train and retrain teachers in how to provide such experiences.

Possible Actions

What, then, are some possible specific actions that educators might take to further the attainment of the goals in this chapter?

1. Begin a dialogue with our constituencies in an effort to redefine the priorities that will guide our efforts and the expenditure of resources. Activities must not be limited to only those that reinforce the educational status quo. We must begin to make leadership and financial commitments to the human needs inherent in the future. This may necessitate research and service activities for which there is no "soft-money" available.

2. Researchers from many disciplines must begin to work together cooperatively to develop new research designs and methodologies that do not perpetuate the implicit assumptions contained in the designs and methodologies in use now, but rather begin with assumptions of dispersed power, holism, and future-orientation.

3. Exert influence on the priorities established by state and federal agencies. We can influence their priorities. Stop the game of running from funding fad to funding fad; such activity has changed very, very little in our schools.

4. Research and development must become linked with long-range planning and current evaluation. Currently educational research is treated as a luxury and, therefore, researchers are paralyzed by feelings of impotence. Constant threats regarding the withdrawal of funding reinforces this impotence. Research and development personnel must be given leeway for risk-taking ventures, and then must be allowed to influence action.

5. Accountability must begin to be defined in terms of ethical considerations rather than on solely economic considerations. If we don't do this, we may well become only mechanistic technicians. Evaluation criteria should be based on how successful we are in providing students with experiences that allow them to become independent learners.

6. New organizational patterns are needed that directly link all social service agencies and institutions and communities in a cooperative effort directed toward the recommended research agenda. We must have everyone's participation, commitment, and resources, both financial and intellectual, if we are to accomplish this goal. Such linkages will have to be designed on cooperative organizational models, rather than traditional power models which guarantee failure.

7. A continuous process of organizational development should begin immediately to stop the process of organizational and individual rigidification. Flexibility and openness are the characteristics of an open, creative organizational climate that allows initiative and leadership to emerge. Such a climate is essential for the creativity and communications envisioned.

The tasks are large, but not impossible; the stakes are the highest—survival and the creation of humanistic environments.

RIDING THE APOCALYPSE:

EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY*

Robert Bundy
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We in the industrialized nations cannot think clearly about education and the future unless we understand the global drama which is unfolding. The power of our technology and the finiteness of our natural environment have combined to make this historic period decisive for all peoples on earth. To give it the epic dimensions it deserves: humanity is riding the apocalypse. A crossroad has been reached with choices so fundamental and consequences so profound that every facet of human life, everywhere, will be affected. Viewed in this way, what we do in education today will set the course and shape the vision for many yet unborn generations. To speak of education, then, is to speak of the future of all humanity.

In the following I have tried to weave a story beginning with an analysis of our historic situation, moving to root causes of current world disorder, and then to ideas about social reconstruction. Throughout I focus on education and the future of Western civilization but as viewed with a global consciousness. The resulting tapestry will be suggestive, I hope, of where our imagination now needs to go to work if we are to survive on this planet and create something far better than our current industrial thinking points to in the West.

[Editor's Note: These comments, revised and updated by Robert Bundy in February, 1974, were first presented at the Deans Committee meeting in Chicago, and prompted the discussion in the next chapter.]

Social Analysis: Finding a Framework for Meaning

Modern man finds himself in the eye of a gigantic storm made from the violent currents of discarded past and uninspired future. The visions of religious fulfillment and utopian renewal which pulled Western civilization onward in the past, have lost their power to energize our public will and imagination. At the same time, we have not yet found the new shared images of the future needed to create fresh hope and purpose. The future is still pliable to human choice. But time is not on our side, for cracks in our civilization are spreading rapidly.

We stand thus at the very edge of history. Yet we are not altogether subdued. Voices are raised insisting a lost primitive innocence must be recovered. Other voices speak of transcendental states rising above worldly vanities. Still other voices announce the end of human pre-history and the coming of a post-political millenium. But the most powerful voices we hear come from the industrial elites who offer us an engineered society of technological splendor.

Our problem is we have no common roots in some dominant vision which speaks to everyone about progress and human renewal. We have, to paraphrase Fred Polak,[1] no unique dream for our historic period; no collective, inspiring vision which provides a sense of meaning to go forward. Such is the condition of modern man. And herein lies the reason why certain forces are rending us apart while we stand by helpless.

As we look out from the present, five powerful trends are writing the inscription on our tombstone. I believe we must look at this chasm ahead in all its terror before we will find another route to follow. Other routes are possible, as I will suggest, and these routes will have the most profound implications for restructuring our notions about education and the future.

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[1] Fred L. Polak, *The Image of the Future,* 2 vols. (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961).

Social Forces Shaping the Future

1. **The growing disparity between the haves and havenots.** We live in two worlds. As Lester Brown[2] puts it, one is industrial and urban and one is agrarian and rural; one overfed and overweight and one hungry and malnourished. The gap between the rich and the poor nations is increasing each year. Currently, the rich world consumes over 90 per cent of the earth's resources. The United States, with 6 per cent of the world's population, consumes over one-third of the earth's resources. From a twelve-fold difference in per capita gross national product (GNP) in 1965 between the rich and poor nations, this gap may widen to an eighteen-fold difference by the year 2000. But in the intervening years the quality of life in the poor nations will most likely decrease markedly as rapid urbanization, unemployment and population growth wipe out improvements in food productivity, health care and other basic services. Without some major interventions then, the year 2000 will probably resemble a large island of wealth surrounded by a much larger world slum. But paradoxically, massive technical assistance to the poor nations will only increase their poverty and underdevelopment.

Clearly, this growing disparity between the rich and the poor is putting the peoples of the world on a collision course with disaster.

2. **Increasing environmental degradation.** To date, the dangers to our natural environment have been grossly underplayed. We need only consider the following: (1) the growing variety and amounts of industrial chemicals and waste products, many of which, like DDT and methyl mercury, are both dangerous to life and non-biodegradable; (2) the growing list of extinct or endangered species; (3) the rise in respiratory diseases, particularly bronchitis, emphysema and lung cancer, directly related to air pollution; (4) increasing danger of serious industrial mishaps such as large oil spills and radiation leakage, as well as dangerous atmospheric alterations and food chain breakdowns due to manmade projects; (5) the declining per capita amenities of fresh water, natural recreational areas and arable land; (6) the inadequacy of world wide environmental legislation; (7) entrenched attitudes favoring continuing economic growth at virtually any cost.

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[2] Lester R. Brown, *World Without Borders* (New York: Random House, 1972).

This partial listing suggests that with only one third of humanity in the technological age, we are already approaching natural limits to economic growth, pollution and population. The delicate life support systems of planet earth seem to be in great jeopardy as world wide industrialization accelerates. Again, this is a global problem with potential nightmare consequences.

3. **Racism and world control.** The world split now is North-South; the haves versus the havenots, the white world versus the non-white world (excepting Japan). Increasingly the non-white world is demanding its share of the planet's resources. But there are fundamental environmental and economic problems as just described. The non-white world can never hope to obtain even the levels of poverty in the rich world. Will the non-white world be satisfied with small improvements in standards of living as the absolute gap increases? I do not think so. What then will be the response of the rich countries? A young girl, almost in tears, recently gave me an answer: "We will kill them."

I include these thoughts under racism because the white world's view of the future is very clear. "We will control." This means that three-fourths of humanity will be used if economically beneficial and subordinated if they pose a threat. For anyone who doubts this, I ask him to think of the history of racism in this country. The near genocide of the American Indian is a classic example. Consider also the black population of America. Even now, after centuries of slavery, we are building two unequal societies–one white and one non-white. Our national policies and attitudes, for all who will see, reinforce segregation, concentration and non-enrichment of non-white peoples.

Racism and world control are deeply intertwined and their interaction will significantly shape the future over the next several decades.

4. **New technology.** New technologies, particularly in the biological sciences, are presenting us with profound value dilemmas and are already shaping the characteristics of humanhood for future generations. Personality-modifying drugs, supercosmetology, cyborgs, artificial intelligence, egg banks, embryo transplants, surrogate mothers, artificial wombs, parthenogenesis, cloning and genetic engineering, to name just a few, are or will likely be extensively developed soon for human application. Consider also weapon

technology. Despite disarmament talks, over 200 billion dollars per year go for military expenditures globally.

The armaments issue is clear—we must stop it. But many of the other technologies are providing choices we cannot clearly evaluate. So far, our attention to these issues is not heartening. The general public, in fact, has been excluded altogether from the debate over technological choices beyond the simplistic level of Gallup polls.

5. **Growth and dominance of large institutions.** As Peter Drucker[3] puts it, we have become a "society of organizations"; a pluralism of institutional diversity and diffusion of power. Increasingly, we entrust the discharge of major social tasks to ever larger institutions which are organized for perpetuity and managed by professionals. Unlike in the past, today's organizations are interdependent. This symbiotic relationship, on today's scale, makes obsolete much of our traditional social and political theory.

Organizations, therefore, exert tremendous influences in our lives. Has this development been beneficial? I believe with Ivan Illich[4] that modern institutions go through two major stages or watersheds. In the first stage, there is a direct positive relationship between resources expended and services provided. New knowledge is applied to specific problems and desirable effects are produced. Simple habits and tools become widespread.

However, as the modern institution grows, it reaches its second watershed and increases in resources expended actually decrease services. The characteristics of the second watershed are:

> (1) **Bureaucratization**. An emphasis on rational, efficient management; hierarchical, impersonal, specialized division of labor and assembly line production. Human values become institutionalized and transformed into technical tasks.

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[3] Peter F. Drucker, *The Age of Discontinuity* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968).

[4] Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973). [I am indebted to Illich's masterful social analysis. The influence of his ideas will be evident throughout this article.]

(2) **Survival and growth become primary goals.** The institution becomes an end in itself whose purposes are indefinite expansion and unlimited creation of new but unrealizable needs.

(3) **The institution develops a radical monopoly.** There is a dominance of one type of product rather than one brand. Acceptable alternatives decline. For example, private transportation becomes identified with high speed vehicles. Schools monopolize education by legitimating a particular kind of socially acceptable learning. Medicine becomes the exclusive definer of what constitutes disease and its treatment.

(4) **Self-serving elites take control.** These elites define basic needs of people in terms professionals can meet. In medicine, ever more conditions are defined as needing treatment by the creation of new specialties under direct control of the guild. The tools of health care are jealously guarded to prevent their widespread use by the general public.

(5) **Services become compulsory.** The outputs of institutions become socially obligatory and defined as basic necessities only large institutions can provide. Services become commodicized–turned into engineered social habits fitting the logic of large scale production. People end up being exploited by the demands of their tools.

(6) **Consumers become addicted to institutional products.** Alternative ways of doing things cannot be imagined. Thus, medical care can only be visualized in terms of doctors and hospitals, and education becomes identified with schools, curricula and teachers. People become classified by their level of consumption.

(7) **Services become scarce.** Professionals create a deliberate scarcity. The practice of general medicine declines, health costs soar, and hospitals become a person's contact with a doctor. There are insufficient numbers of doctors, though thousands are turned away from medical schools. In education, more time and resources are spent getting ready to teach than in actually teaching. In transportation, the utility of the car is diminished because more time is spent in traffic jams, accidents and traffic court. Cars also make space scarce and

prevent people from the right to walk or ride a bicycle. So, people pay more and get increasingly less. Only the very wealthy can afford access to and autonomous use of industrial tools.

(8) **Natural competence is restricted.** Many ancient privileges are lost: healing and consoling one another, burying one's dead, building a shelter, innate mobility and abundant opportunities for learning. Increasingly the individual must rely on the experts because he is told the tools of his society are too complex to understand.

(9) **Self-defeating escalation occurs.** Institutional elites announce a crisis because of the growing gap between consumer expectations and actual services. But the elites are locked into one approach to problem solving: more of what is currently offered. The cure for bad management is more management. The cure for illiteracy is more teachers, books and behavioral engineers.

(10) **Finally, the institution becomes a social danger.** Professional medicine becomes a major threat to health as medicine itself creates new kinds of diseases. Huge amounts of money are spent to deal with the irresponsible use of drugs, extend sick life and keep people functioning in inhospitable cities and sickening jobs. Schools become a major threat to education, professional law a threat to justice, and professional government a threat to continued existence. As these institutions pass their second watershed, people need to be protected from them.

In my judgment, most of our major institutions today are reaching, have reached, or have passed through their second watershed. The trend is now towards further escalation and instability and increasing use of military force to protect institutional autonomy. And most insidious, what was once predominantly a Western phenomena is now becoming a global phenomena. During the next three decades, the Third World will be made regenerative, addictive consumers. In economic terms this means chronic undercapitalization because the demand for Western industrial products can never be satisfied. There are insufficient planetary resources, and Third World countries will always be too poor. Thus, the industrialization of the Third World will increase underdevelopment and poverty and give rise to social and political instabilities on a scale never known before.

The future of these five trends will be decisive in human affairs for centuries to come. We hover on the edge of social and biospheric collapse and are prepared to commit the most grevious crimes against the majority of humanity in the name of justice and growth. Why? What is wrong with our civilization that prevents us from altering these five trends? Has technology betrayed us? No. The five trends are symptomatic. Beneath them lie a deep sickness of the soul, a consciousness that distorts means and ends and betrays the ideals of humanism long a part of Western civilization, a consciousness some at least would call *technicism*.

Roots of Current Social Disorder

There are four properties which describe the nature of technicism as a world view and moral outlook. My statement of these properties will follow the insightful analysis of Manfred Stanley.[5]

1. **Dehumanized notion of objectivity.** One of the striking features of the Middle Ages was the holistic view of God, man and nature. All were integrated in a divine economy. There was a unified ontology and a vision of the "good" which transcended the political order. Since the seventeenth century, however, and particularly since Descartes, we have had to struggle with the subject-object problem, a profound dualism. What this dualism means in a technicist culture is that we live in two worlds. One world is the domain of human affairs which is one's inner, private, subjective world. Then there is the other world: objective nature which is materially measurable and manipulable. Matters of human values, purposes and feelings are relegated to the private subjective world and eventually they become viewed as random and irrational. Finally, they are treated as dreams and illusions. Thus, all those matters traditionally felt to be part of the very essence of the human experience are forced out of the public domain, de-objectified by being deprived of their status as facts, and they fail to receive the scrutiny of public debate and refinement. The pathways to truth and certainty are found not in traditional authority or transcendent truth, but in morally neutral principles of rigorous methodology and functional relevance.

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[5] Manfred Stanley, "Literacy: The Crisis of a Conventional Wisdom," *School Review*, May, 1972, pp. 373-408. [I have retitled two of his categories.]

By making issues of values and purposes non-objective and private, the very notion of objectivity is dehumanized. Human subjectivity and volition are denied existence as a primary ontological category. Problems of human purposes and values become nothing more than technical problems in disguise which are amenable to solution by technical experts. Ultimately then, the inner world becomes merged with the objective as operant conditioning scientifically explains subjective phenomena and the human subject is reduced to the status of an operating tool.

2. **Dominance of metaphors from the non-human realm.** Second, a technicist culture is characterized by a widespread use of metaphors from the non-human realm, especially machines and communications theory, to describe and explain human action. Our vocabulary becomes filled with factory terms in education and cybernetic language to describe social systems. The human body is constantly seen as a sophisticated machine. Human affairs shrouded in these types of metaphors conceal the unique dimensions of human experience and personal agency. What can be lost sight of is thatthese metaphors are linguistic borrowings from non-human domains. After awhile, the danger is we lose mastery over our own language and become insensitive to how language is being used on us.

3. **Control by experts.** There is a natural tendency in any society to identify the worth and capacities of a person by his function within the structure of specialization. In a technicist culture this tendency culminates in a view of the expert as the exclusive definer of that part of reality which he takes as his area of competence. The misuse of metaphors encourages this process because the experts are seen as people who understand both the metaphors and the "laws" which control human affairs to which the metaphors are applied. The individual thus finds he must continually go to the experts to have reality explained to him.

4. **Displacement of personal agency.** This process results in a final reduction of the individual because he gives up his personal agency and responsibility to the technicians. He cannot understand the very society he lives in. It is a labyrinth of complex and secret mazes. Everywhere he turns he is confronted with technical vocabularies to which he is a stranger. No longer can he be a constructive, responsible agent. All that remains is to withdraw into private hedonisms according to the level his objective merits place him within the system.

What a technicist culture does, therefore, is demand obedience to the mystification of one's own tools. Our tools and the techniques for using them become ends in themselves with a seeming life of their own. Nature is indifferent to human definitions of morality and purpose. Self-regulating impersonal natural processes and life forces replace any belief in a higher justification for human existence or faith that a transcendent "good" can be found in objective reality. The possibility of participatory politics achieving public consensus on social goals so that citizens can collectively and consciously construct their public world is seen as a dangerous romanticism. Human reason is forced to bow to utility and efficiency such that the logic of techniques organizes human purposes. In the end, the individual doesn't use techniques to bring about a non-technological goal; the individual becomes a means for the self-perpetuation and maintenance of techniques–a tool himself.

This, of course, is a description of a form of "pure" technicism. I am not criticizing technology as such. Man has always needed some technology to assist his encounters with the beautiful and the sacred and with the rigors of survival. Nor am I forgetting the "cussedness" of man found in all societies. What I am criticizing is the orientation in which techniques become their own justification–a consciousness which accepts man's adaptation to technology rather than man's control over its direction to achieve higher non-technological goals. I am not arguing that our society is completely technicized or that technicism is an exclusively modern phenomena, or that the five global trends are directly caused by a technicist orientation. Nor am I suggesting that technicism is a malevolent force with a life of its own consciously conspiring to "take over" the human race.

Technicism is treated here as an orientation which has grown out of certain historical processes rather than a conscious choice or decision. What I believe is that there are powerful technicist tendencies in our civilization and the general drift is toward a technicist culture which I feel is basically destructive of humanistic ideals. My concern is that the decline of traditional notions of humanism, particularly notions of human freedom, personal responsibility and self-determination, is blocking our chances of dealing in any authentic way with the five global trends. The most devious effects of the technicist orientation are to stunt the public imagination and distort social perceptions. There seems to be no alternative to current growth and institutional ethics which don't also strip us of hard-won achievements and progress. I contend there are alternatives, but we must view the world in other terms in order to see these alternatives.

To speak of "other terms" implies different organizing ideas, different kinds of specialization, and therefore a different educational process than now exists. To formulate what these differences might be, we first have to consider how the technicist orientation currently affects education. In the following my focus will be primarily on schools. The things I will be talking about cannot all be laid at the doorstep of technicism, nor am I simply indicting educators. My point is that what schools do fits in well with the overall pattern of a technicist culture and is a reflection of what the larger society demands of its schools.

The Technicist Orientation and Schools

Numerous writers, in the past two decades, have commented on the growing use of machine metaphors in education as well as on the specialization, differentiation, impersonality and conformism of schools. The schools provide a necessary apprenticeship to psychologically and intellectually prepare young people to fit into the complex professional and managerial roles demanded by society. What was once shared with other institutions, however, now becomes exclusively identified with one institution. And this one institution not only becomes decisive in the lives of young people, but certain attitudes, questions, expressive modes and intellectual content are excluded altogether. Schools thus legitimate a particular kind of learning which, as a basic necessity can only be satisfied by school.

During this apprenticeship, powerful sorting mechanisms reduce student variation and earmark the underconsuming deviant for special remedial treatment. A monolithic conformism in schools coupled with standardized tests and behavioral measures make the whole system very efficient despite its bulky size. Unfortunately, students become viewed increasingly as objects to be processed through the system. This is not due to the pathologies or indifference of educators. Rather, it grows out of the demands for efficiency and order needed to process large numbers of students under the constraints imposed by time, laws, school architecture, mandated curricula and the logic of large scale production.

Extensive control over young people is essential. Not needed for the maintenance of the community and unable to contribute to knowledge, young people are a potential menace—an irrational proletariat likely to do violent things if control is relaxed. Schools thus become an exquisite orchestration of objects fitting a grand systems flow model. An important consequence of this managerial apprenticeship is that young people's sensitivity to being treated as an object is reduced. They come to accept the idea that people everywhere will have to learn to be similarly processed (for the public interest) through the systems designed by the social engineers.

At the moral level, a subtle but profound indoctrination occurs in schools. Issues of moral action are suppressed if they contradict the beliefs of the prevailing system. The debates over moral issues which do occur are likely to happen as a kind of spectator sport. The net effect is a co-option which confuses thought and action. In the end, issues of moral action become fused with propaganda. Following one's moral convictions is a private matter to be done on one's own time. Challenges to the dominant system are seen as counter-productive and irrational and students are led to believe they should be suppressed.

Another aspect of school indoctrination is the promotion of expertise and techniques to the point of mystification. A consciousness is developed that certified experts should be revered because of their "proven" claims to be able to solve problems as well as direct social progress. Educators support this attitude about themselves through their constant "successes" in uncovering learning deficiencies requiring professional treatment. The image of the expert presented to young people is of one who is skillful in the use of objective, scientific techniques and in controlling the emotions, and of one who brings a rational logic to all problems. If a particular social problem has not been solved, it is not because the problem may not be amenable to technical solution, but because the right technical solution has not been applied. Human values thus become constantly translated into mere technical tasks. Students are encouraged to believe that not only are all global problems solvable by technical means, but also that these technical solutions should be applied in the interests of the poor nations. Even recalcitrant nature can be subdued by appropriate planning if it conflicts with global industrialization.

This mystification of experts and techniques is grounded in certain attitudes and cognitive styles. *First*, young people develop a compartmentalized world view through fragmentation of subject area specialties and language which honors techniques as the pathway to truth in the objective world. As many people have noted, ever more specialized knowledge in ever more specialized tracks has made a mockery of the aims of liberal education. *Second,* the world is presented to students as a static reality and chunks of this reality (to quote Paulo Freire[6]) are progressively deposited in the minds of students. Learning becomes the process of passive beings grasping the static and predictable world as named and defined by experts. *Third,* young people are kept in a long dependency relationship both to the larger society and to professional treatment. As James Coleman[7] points out, young people's primary responsibility is to be a learner in school. This narcissism prepares young people for the highly intellectualized and symbolic skills needed in today's knowledge organizations. But it also serves to deaden an authentic praxis in which thought can be translated into action.

This mystification of experts and techniques also reduces the significance of ecstasy and contemplation of the beautiful. Students do not develop the ability to use a technique without having that technique dominate their lives; i.e., they do not learn to dispense with the technique in the enjoyment of things for their own sake. Language thus becomes reduced to a study of grammar. The idea of leisure becomes learning how to be productive in one's free time. And learning becomes a predictive series of input/output equations.

Further evidence for a technicist influence in schools can be seen in the tendency to accept a pure technicist notion of minimal literacy–a technique of sign interpretation and symbol manipulation with some quantitative criterion, usually in the form of reading, writing and mathematical tasks. However, the techniques used are in themselves morally neutral and therefore allow people to be "objectively" measured. By an acceptance of this definition or at least its intent, whole populations can be defined as needing treatment which those who define literacy can generously provide. Such a notion of literacy speaks to minimal capacities of participation as defined by a particular society, but not to an understanding of the moral dimensions and implications of this participation.

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[6] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971).

[7] James S. Coleman, "Education in Modern Society," *Computers, Communications and the Public Interest,* ed. Martin Greenberger (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).

Thus, schools provide an effective environment for teaching the value of school as a supplier of certified knowledge stock and teaching young people that they need to be taught. Education and the institution of compulsory schools become synonymous and schools exert a radical monopoly over learning. Education is seen as a planned treatment one receives by submitting to an institutionally defined process. The pursuit of knowledge and truth are viewed as institutional processes rather than personal ventures. Progressive consumption of curricula prepares young people for a life of endless competitive consumption and the belief that personal development and one's value in society is determined by one's level of consumption. In the process, young people are taught to give up many of their native abilities for what institutions can do or make for them. Opportunities for self-defined learning are severely decreased because young people are continually taught to go to the experts to find out the truth of what they already may know. Many opportunities for people to teach one another are curtailed by restricting easy and abundant access to the tools for learning and the stored memories of the community. Finally, young people hooked on school, institutions and progressive consumption cannot see other possibilities for learning nor can they understand that other skills may be needed if they are to have an authentic sense of personal agency and individuality. In summary, the fact that schools preserve the status quo is not being criticized; rather, it is being argued that the status quo is disastrous for their future.

Schools, of course, do other things that many, including myself, would consider positive. Clearly, the institution of schools is a significant social invention one does not brush aside lightly. Nevertheless, schools are deeply technicized, in my opinion. I believe that young people, for the most part, develop a trained incapacity to understand or cope in any deeply humanistic way with the social forces shaping our immediate future. What we must consciously do is introduce destabilization by means of different educational alternatives. I realize the possible terrors which could result but I believe the terrors that are with us warrant the risk to be taken.

To illustrate this last point and to conclude this section on social analysis I will sketch two brief scenarios, either of which I believe is extremely likely over the next several decades if current technicist tendencies are allowed to continue.

Industrial Future No. 1: Continued World Growth. In this scenario, industrialization proceeds. Third World peoples are made addictive consumers. There is widespread environmental damage because of the destruction done before international controls were initiated. Severe social/political instability results because of institutional escalation, rising uncertainty over how to cope with environmental damage, inflationary economics, constant food crises, and extensive urbanization coupled with massive unemployment and poverty in the Third World. There is a constant threat of major war due to international squabbling over causes and solutions to problems and fear of losing power or sovereignty. Eventually there is social-political-economic collapse due to extreme biospheric degradation, atomic war, famine, plague or some combination of these. Megadeaths result.

In this scenario, the quest for dominion over nature together with an exalted belief in planning and technical solutions blinded the controlling elites to the possibility that nature wouldn't cooperate and that the time frame for action was so short.

Industrial Future No. 2: Limited World Growth. The possibilities for industrial future No. 1 are recognized by world leaders, and desperate measures are introduced. There is a freezing of current world power structures. Rigid social and economic controls are imposed, including enforced sterilization and abortion. International planning teams allocate resources and make macrodecisions. In the process, national sovereignties in the Third World are violated if dutiful cooperation is not forthcoming. Widespread alienation and constant insurgencies make military control a necessary global phenomena. A world dictatorial government and a triumph for the planning elites occur. This results eventually in (1) a form of technicist world culture, or (2) world governmental collapse and isolationism because of internal instabilities among the controllers or violent revolutions and terrorism using biological or atomic warfare. In either case, megadeaths occur.

What both these futures imply is that the industrial dream, and the image of world superindustrial splendor formed out of this dream, are over. There are simply not enough resources available, except perhaps for a time by a tiny affluent minority of the world. But even if there were enough resources, a fully developed technicist orientation would only deepen beyond repair the current suicidal distortion between people and their social/technical tools. To say it another way: For the past two centuries, we have been engaged in a technological experiment in which we believed human happiness could be achieved by making technology replace enduring human functions and the care and dependence of people on each other. This experiment we must now admit has been a failure.

Clearly, other themes are possible within the framework of the above two industrial futures. I do not believe, however, we can avoid one or the other of these two main outlines of the future unless there is a basic alteration in our technicist mentality. It is to such an alteration and other possibilities for the future we must now turn.

Social Reconstruction: Finding a New Literacy

In all of the foregoing there has been a recurrent theme—the distortion between means and ends, between people and their tools in modern technological society. This distortion effectively blocks positive attempts at humanistic social reconstruction. It is this problem then that we must address if alternative pathways into the future are to be discovered and a different literacy is to be formulated. Our task, in another sense, is to discover ways to discriminate between authentic versus inauthentic uses of technology. We need uses that do not jeopardize the obvious benefits of certain lines of material progress, but that permit alternative definitions of social problems and their solutions in line with traditional humanistic ideals. Only the barest attempt at these things can be made here. I will try only to point to some possibilities and general directions, particularly as they relate to education. Once again, Ivan Illich is instructive and I will draw on a number of his ideas.

We must examine first in more detail the notion of tools in human affairs. To simplify discussion, we can define a tool, in its general sense, as any rationally designed device whose purpose is a means to obtain some end. This immediately implies different categories of tools, e.g., artifacts such as hammers and pulleys; organizations and institutional arrangements; and finally, laws, procedures and rules. Let us now generalize Illich's notion of institutional watersheds to the growth stages of tools. In the first stage, which might be called "humanizing use," (1) tools extend human capability; (2) they amplify opportunities for people to engage in authentic activity; (3) the individual exercises authority and assumes responsibility over the tool; and (4) the tool is used as a means. In the second stage, which might be called "dehumanizing abuse," (1) tools contract, eliminate or replace human functions; (2) they severely reduce choice and motivation; (3) tools take over; and (4) they impose their own logic. (There is nothing deterministic being implied here. All that is being said is that there is clear evidence many of the tools of our technological civilization do go through these growth stages.)

Tools in their first stage of growth might be called *convivial tools*. To Illich, convivial tools are tools which can be used easily by anyone, as often or as seldom as desired, without obligation, for purposes chosen by the individual to express his meaning in action, as long as other people's rights of access are not impeded. We have numerous examples of convivial tools. For example, the telephone, the public mails, sidewalks, sewage systems, band-aids, the bicycle, the book. To clarify that this is not an anti-technological attitude, it needs to be pointed out that whether a tool is convivial or not is, in principle, independent of the level of technology of the tool. Thus, a sophisticated computer may be needed to enable a large telephone system to be convivial. Of course, nothing guarantees the above examples must remain convivial. Indeed, many are under attack now.

Tools in their second stage of growth can be called *manipulative tools*. First, they require certification. Not just anyone can use them. Control by the user is limited; easy access is prevented because the tools become too complex. Thus, the number of operators of such tools declines and centralized control is fostered. Next, manipulative tools become compulsory. Other choices are pushed off the market and people can't conceive of simpler ways of doing things. Many ancient privileges are lost, and consumer addiction is encouraged. The workings of the tools become so complex people depend less on themselves, and they "need" education. Addiction then leads to regimentation, dependency and exploitation, and of course privileged use by the wealthy minority. Examples of manipulative tools today are the institutions of compulsory schools, hospitals, jails, mental institutions and professional law

To avoid any criticism of romanticism here, it is important to note that any society will have both convivial and manipulative tools. However, when the number and quality of convivial tools falls below a certain threshold, we can then speak of a suicidal distortion between people and their tools, institutions within that society as a social threat, and the society itself as a threat to other societies. This is, of course, what we have concluded is the situation in Western industrialized nations and why the five global trends are so menacing.

What alternatives can be drawn from this analysis? Let us address this question at two levels–at the level of an image of the future and at the level of practical action. Jacques Ellul[8] in a recent essay reminds us that a humanistic image of the future can't be manufactured on demand. Images develop in the public imagination through an accumulation of experiences, and their elaboration and refinement may take generations. The demise of commonly shared values in the West has left us socially fragmented and unable to articulate a common vision capable of producing joint action. For the immediate future then, the West has no choice but to search out a project which could restore some sense of purpose and meaning and which ultimately, in the process of carrying out the project, might lead to the development of an inspiring, collective vision of the future. He believes such a project should be to allow the Third World to have a future, i.e., to allow the Third World to develop in all its dimensions independently of, but in cooperation with, the West in search of its own future. For this to happen, however (and we are not talking here of massive aid or charity), the West would have to invert its economic institutions and structure of tools and attack directly the issue of technicism.

It is at this point that I believe Illich's notion of conviviality is of immense value in arousing public interest in what Ellul proposes. Ellul's project is a slap at Western man's ego, and is precisely the opposite of what Western man would propose, despite altruistic impulses toward the Third World. The problem is that Ellul's project would be seen as a rejection of Western accomplishments, a painful loss, and therefore a regression. As long as it is viewed this way, the West is not likely to treat this vital project seriously and one or the other of the two industrial futures outlined will likely occur.

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[8] Jacques Ellul, "Search for an Image," *The Humanist*, November-December, 1973, pp. 22-25.

The image of the convivial society, however, offers exciting possibilities because it provokes the imagination to examine our relationship to our tools, to see the monopoly of the industrial mode of production–deliberately created scarcity and engineered satisfactions. It suggests certain fundamental solutions to global trends and it presents another kind of progress model. Conviviality is the opposite of industrial productivity. The convivial society, a modern society of responsibly limited tools, is characterized by: (1) *Autonomous and creative intercourse among people and between people and their environment.* Technology is used convivially to enhance opportunities for people to care for and depend on each other. (2) *Values of survival, justice and self-defined work dominate, rather than a suicidal destruction of our environment in the interests of greater profits and growth.* There is justice in the sharing of resources, a rejection of industrial invasion, and opportunities to endow one's world with meaning. And there is self-defined work rather than mandated monotomy. (3) *Maximum use of personal energy under personal control, thus favoring self-initiated and self-chosen learning.* (4) *Abundant access to the tools of the community.* (5) *A balance between the ready made and what people can do for themselves.* (6) *A renunciation of unlimited progeny, affluence, consumption, power and compulsory change.* The new is required to prove itself through the dialectic authority of history. (7) *A pluralism of limited tools, modes of production and life styles.* (8) *And finally, the current function of politics to set production goals shifts to a form of participatory politics whose purpose is to develop criteria for tools.* There would be a political consensus opposed to growth and an exclusion of tools which are destructive, and protection of those which are convivial through political process rather than decisions by experts. The convivial society is not static. It does not do away with all industrial tools, products or institutions. Nor does it turn time back to some pre-industrial period. Rather, it screens out destructive tools through a different consciousness of technology, restores a sense of lawful community, and proposes immense human possibilities for creating and participating in a different political order. The convivial society is, however, quite different from the limits to growth philosophy, since this philosophy does not attack the problem of technicism.

Current reality seems remote from the convivial society. Such a shift is mind-boggling, but it might not be so if current conditions worsen or there is a serious social/political collapse. In the meantime, can we specify any more clearly what kinds of attitudes or skills might be necessary to make the convivial society a reality? I will list twelve of these skills and then suggest some alternative functions for schools which would assist development of the proposed skills. My comments are not a social blueprint. Rather, they are simply ideas about human skills and social arrangements which I believe point in the directions proposed. My concern is thus not to address final metaphysical solutions to our problems but to make some proposals which I believe are consistent with traditional humanistic ideals. If they are, then inspiring visions of the future can perhaps emerge in the process of carrying out the proposals.

Human Skills Needed for the Future

The following skills (in which I also include knowledge and attitudes) are not a complete curriculum for humanistic education. They are stated too briefly and they leave much still unresolved. Nevertheless, I believe they evoke a sense of what needs to be accomplished and they identify the kinds of issues educators should be addressing in terms of socializing youth to cope with the future:

1. **Belief in and development of natural human capacities.** I include here that whole range of skills among the young of caring for each other, working together, and depending on each other more than on institutional products and services–in short, a shift towards cooperatively carrying out common social tasks even when high energy technology and institutional services could often more efficiently accomplish these tasks. The impact here would extend from daily maintenance tasks, to community problems, to instruction in how to use the basic tools of law, medicine, learning, etc.

2. **Awareness of one's vocation to become human.** This implies shifting the notion of literacy from objective standards to a concern for understanding the moral issues of participation in society. It implies a confidence that each person has deep humanistic powers and possibilities if there is an inspiration to live a life of action rather than a passive life of consumption. Such [illegible] awareness would certainly prevent one from defining his rank and worth by his level of consumption.

3. **An expanded social imagination.** The ability to form holistic perceptions of the world and to be able to see radical alternatives for the future—most certainly, a reduction of the narrow industrial provincialism the West demonstrates toward the rest of the world.

4. **New organizing ideas.** Radical new concepts, or paradigms, to borrow from Thomas Kuhn, for perceiving the world—concepts as powerful as the Copernican, Darwinian and Einstonian revolutions in ideas. One such concept would be "planetary citizenship," i.e., an awareness that one is first and foremost a citizen of earth and secondarily a member of a particular culture or country. Another organizing idea would be "convivial tools." Still other ideas would center around new possibilities for participatory politics, social and economic arrangements emphasizing low energy tools, and alternative modes of production rather than just the industrial mode as at present.

5. **Deep sensitivity to tools in human relationships.** I mean here an ability to discriminate between manipulative and convivial tools; a critical awareness of how tools become mystified; an ability to sense when tools are becoming destructive and ends in themselves.

6. **A learned immunity to technicist goals.** This implies resisting attempts to turn human values into mere technical tasks, the constant emphasis on technical solutions to non-technical issues. It also implies careful scrutiny of machine metaphors used to describe human action—in short, the skillful mastery of one's own language. And most certainly this skill emphasizes the courage to force human issues into the public domain as well as a deep belief that humans can consciously construct their own public order.

7. **Ability to make complex value choices.** Much has been written on this in education. Value clarification is necessary but it needs to be situated in much broader moral frameworks which question notions of social participation, modes of knowing, literacy, tools in human relationships, etc. Within such a framework there clearly must be options for saying no to murderous tools and bizarre technical capabilities and resisting the insidious belief that "newer and bigger" are necessarily "better."

8. **Highly developed moral awareness.** A long list of ideas can be stated here. Such a list should certainly include beliefs in the just sharing of the planet's resources, the responsible stewardship of nature's bounty, the

belief that the Third World should develop its own future, and outrage at racism in all its forms.

9. **Sensitivity to the dialectic authority of history.** This means an ability to set limits to compulsory change—an attitude that demands that the new submit to the authority of history and conventional wisdom, rather than merely being accepted because it is new.

10. **Sophisticated information handling and organizational skills.** Many things are suggested here: an ability to understand different criteria for evidence; how to recognize propaganda; how to use the information resources of society and insist upon information access as a civil liberty; an in-depth understanding of organizations in terms of organizational dynamics, decision making, how vested power is protected, etc., so that young people can be skillful in making organizations work to serve human ends.

11. **Deep understanding of play, leisure, self-defined work and personal agency.** Again this includes many things. For example, it would mean a shift from a focus on grammar to a concern for language as the mediator of consciousness; a flowering of the humanities and the arts and a sense of craft; a shift from an overemphasis on job training and manpower allocation to a search for a work to do in life.

12. **Expanded consciousness of the future.** I mean here more than a concern for alternative personal futures. Included would be an ability to project one's thoughts into the future, to see an array of possible social futures and the interconnections between these futures; an ability to humanistically critique forecasts about the future; and a feeling of being drawn into the future. There are many ambiguities involved in this area which Timothy Weaver[9] calls "future cognition." I am uncertain how far this kind of cognitive development should proceed, but certainly, an ability to skillfully imagine the future is necessary to understand current social disorder and convivial possibilities for the future.

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[9] W. Timothy Weaver, "Future Cognition: Contiguity in Studies of Human Thought and the Future" (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center, April, 1970).

Most of these skills, of course, deal with personal and social perceptions rather than with job training. I do not exclude job training. Rather, I have chosen to emphasize the perceptions, since these will be most critical to the determination of which jobs will exist and which jobs people will want to participate in.

Alternative Functions for Schools

The above skills, and others I hope this list suggests to the reader, would require a variety of social settings within which to occur as well as people committed to their realization. Is there any role left for the American school? I suspect there is. Certainly the current model could be one model among a variety of models. It may be too that some schools could make the transition proposed here. I believe, however, that we must press for radical alternatives to the existing model. The functions of alternative schools needed for the development of the convivial society should, in my opinion, include the following: (1) **To deprofessionalize the tools for learning.** Ask first what people need if they want to learn and then make the tools widely available for all who wish to use them. In other words, open up access to the stored memories of the community in terms of people, places and things and then bet on people's natural curiosity and imagination. (2) **To help match those who want to share what they know with those who want to learn**, regardless of age, degree or background. The school could become a broker to bring together or make contact between responsible people who want to share mutual interests, enthusiasm and ignorance. (3) **To provide abundant opportunities for self-defined and self-initiated learning**, which break the tyranny of the expert (and thus bring into perspective the value of specialized knowledge), addiction to institutions and the mystification of tools; at the same time create numerous opportunities for people to care for and depend on each other. (4) **To enhance the integration of learning with the life of the community.** Schools could become, in James Coleman's terms, an "action space" for young people to engage in and be an integral part of real community problems, work and creativity. To accomplish this, schools would have to become catalytic agents for forcing access to business and government which now shut their doors on young people.

I tend to think of these four functions as transitional in the sense that in a true convivial society, these functions would probably not just be associated with "school."

These four functions don't imply any disdain for specialized knowledge, scholarship, intellectual rigor, or even routine drill and practice learning where appropriate. In my judgment, we have so closed off the imagination and so narrowly defined excellence that it is difficult to conceive of the alternative possibilities for learning styles, questioning, knowledge structures, personal and interpersonal awarenesses and new social inventions which could emerge from widespread implementation of these functions. Different kinds of schools inculcating distinctly different value sets would inevitably develop, and choice in education could finally become a reality.

By design, the above four functions do not provide a blueprint. Rather, they open up the future to exciting possibilities for human growth and celebration which will be defined in the process of trying to achieve them. These functions then are a set of process goals on the basis of which many educational models can take shape.

But is this whole approach socially manageable? Would it reduce class bias and privileged position and open up equal educational opportunities for each person? Would such a socialization make possible the inversion of Western institutions and the new organizing ideas needed to cope humanistically with the five global trends described? Would it make possible a fundamental alternative to the technicist orientation? I believe in time that it would. However, none of what has been proposed can be realized unless the basic underlying beliefs are widely shared by the larger society, i.e., there is a firm belief in limits to growth and alternative modes of economic production, a radical change in the notion of participatory politics, a resistance to compulsory change, and a commitment to exclude destructive tools—in short, a rejection of the superindustrial dream. All this is a major reversal in current Western consciousness and is staggering to even contemplate. I do not believe for one minute it is possible at this moment in time. But the notion of the convivial society could become possible as the cracks in Western civilization rapidly deepen and spread and become obvious to all. In the meantime, humanistic educators could begin to create the new climate and start creative projects leading to the proposed human skills and new functions for schools.

Industrial Dream Must be Ended

The foregoing has been an attempt to describe our current historic situation, global trends which are putting the world on a collision course with disaster, root causes of why we seem unable to cope with these trends, and finally, ideas about social reconstruction and the formulation of a new literacy for the future. The days ahead for mankind forebode much evil and suffering. The current industrial dream must be seen as over and finished, and there must be a radical shift in consciousness if we are to enter the twenty-first century with any semblance of a humane world order. The terrors of a radical shift toward a convivial society will be far less than the terrors of going forward with our current industrial consciousness.

Most of this essay has been concerned with understanding our problems and what needs to be changed. Only the barest sketch of alternatives has been presented, for the complexities of radical change are simply too great to see through clearly at this time. Nevertheless, I believe at least the right issues have been dealt with, and this must be the first step in "riding out" the Apocalypse.

DIALOGUE: FUTURES PLANNING AND ITS METHODOLOGY

[The participants in this dialogue were responding to the ideas of Dr. Robert Bundy, futurist and planning consultant from Syracuse, New York, who had been asked to discuss futures planning at the Study Commission's Deans Committee meeting in Chicago. His remarks are summarized in the preceding chapter. The committee had asked Bundy and Dr. Charles Case, associate professor of organizational and human resource development at the University of Vermont, to comment on alternative futures frameworks and to answer questions posed by members of the committee. Individual comments have been extensively edited and the conversation has in some cases been rearranged and shortened to place a sharper focus on the topics of this book. Excerpts from the discussion are also printed in a later chapter, along with Study Commission recommendations which the group studied. (See p. iii *for a complete list of participants.)]*

What is the Job of the Futurist and His Method?

HAROLD GARFINKEL: I am curious. I wonder if Mr. Bundy would tell us a little bit about his own method for coming to such an inferentially rich presentation of future possibilities. The thing that interests me is *that* as compared with doing the job of prophesying–which I take it would be less interesting to you than your presentation–what you are doing is being used by this group to come to its own preferred prophecies–right?

BOB BUNDY: Yes.

GARFINKEL: So as compared with doing the job of prophesying, you are offering these skills, for example, as things that the educators might think of as possible things needed, given the other features of the society that you had framed? I am interested in the possibility that there could be such a thing as a framed future or a framed future state of a society that would have the cogency that yours does, and have yet more detail. It would be as elaborative as the framed future state obviously was at your hands. I am wondering if you could comment on how you create such a framed picture of the future. Do you do it by way of sheer—I hesitate to say—art, although it might be that there is a lot of that in it, right?

BUNDY: Yes.

GARFINKEL: What is the skill, the technique, the method, the practical work of doing such a thing as creating a framed picture of the future? I was thinking perhaps there might be a way of hearing from you how we might go about in fact devising for ourselves such a piece of analytic machinery as you obviously have.

BUNDY: Let me start with the kind of forecast things that come out of the Hudson Institute and other institutions where they identify the variables that must be considered, the questions, the issues, and say that it is only variables which are of concern; there has been very little other participation in the process by the ordinary person to influence which variables will be considered. The net effect is that if you broadcast these images enough, there can be a self-fulfilling aspect to the prophecy or to the "future state." You build an attitude by saying some people are gifted somehow to divine the future, or to show what is likely to be the most probable future. You can also be led into the conclusion that somehow they have in fact "divined the future." They have not.

GARFINKEL: You mean the futurists?

BUNDY: Right. My overriding concern is that the people who pretend to divine a certain future, define reality. They define the future and essentially foreclose alternative images of what could be. I am convinced that any dialogue on the future must be one where the futurists may initiate the process by idea, but where ultimately the responsibility for whatever basic beliefs, assumptions, transitions and so forth occur, becomes that of the human group itself which is creating its future.

My technique is this. I propose an approach which says, "Look at the world about you first and try to interpret it, to understand it. Look at what might be powerful forces. Do you believe there is likely to be more scientific knowledge in the next ten or fifteen years? Are there likely to be more people and what are the derived effects of that?" Then ask your people, "Given these kinds of dominating trends and derived effects from the trends, what are the key things we are likely to have to cope with?" And then comes the question, "What will be needed in terms of skills in order to cope?"

Realizing that my technique is imperfect when I make these kinds of projections, if I have a dialogue or process, I can set up a progressive dialogue on the future. You don't try to define beforehand what Utopia will be.

There are other approaches. We could, as a group, start out immediately and say, "Let's project some social goals. Let's project a picture of this country or this world or a community that we would like to see happen by whatever year," and then we could more or less work back to the present. We could say, "What are the kinds of policy interventions that would have to occur that could lead us from the present to that particular kind of a picture?"

The method I suggested begins with the present and does the things I have suggested and ends up in a normative mold where we say, "These are the goals. These are the things we are shooting for." Am I dealing with your question?

GARFINKEL: Yes. I wonder if you have some kind of an actual experience to draw on so you can say, "Well, I can tell you of alternative ways to work from that experience to picture a future." I am looking for the work –some sense of what the actual work of the futurist has consisted of.

BUNDY: I see.

GARFINKEL: Think of it as your occupation. You have showed us one futurist's way of working. Now the value, I take it, of that work would turn on people seeing some alternatives as well, so that they hear not only your version of what the future could consist of–hear not only the value of your forecasts–but could create their own pictures.

BUNDY: You are saying, "What do I do every day to arrive at these kinds of ideas?"

GARFINKEL: Yes, and can you tell us if there are different ways?

BUNDY: These are probably the three key things that I do: read a lot–black literature, etc.; put myself in touch with the community (street groups, etc.); and keep my autonomy by not becoming a full-time member of any organization.

LEO SHAPIRO: That tells us what you do to get the material. So far you have quoted almost verbatim from an interview with a guy named Brumer, a dress designer in Paris in about the 1930's. When he was asked, "How do you design dresses?" he said, "I read a lot. I go to all the plays. I go to movies. I expose myself to different groups, both rich and poor and I maintain my independence . . . my autonomy"–I am quoting almost verbatim–"and then I design those smashing things."

"But how do you do it?"

And he said, "Don't you know?"

And we are saying to you, "Now you have all of this experience; you do all these things; you are living the life of the free-floating intellectual–so how does it happen you then come out with a simple generalization? How do you process the material?"

I can make it very simple. You come out and make a statement: "The power moves to the knowledge producers." I think if you could trace the relationship between that statement and real life experience, that that would be useful.

BUNDY: I worked for a billion dollar business as a corporate planner and I found much evidence in support of what I am saying. I ask a hell of a lot of questions. The questions tend to be pointed in certain directions. If I observe a certain phenomenon, I ask, "What is the value . . . what is the hidden value behind this kind of phenomenon?"

GARFINKEL: But that doesn't tell us how you get to the conclusion. Perhaps you are talking in some strongly technical sense. You may be using some economic notion–

BUNDY: Are you familiar with Kurt Baier's work on values and Nicholas Rescher's work on substantive value change? I ask a hell of a lot of questions. I am concerned in the questions I ask about things that come up in values. What is the model for change? What are the assumptions that he is making in his perceptions of the future? What about the process of history? What are all the assumptions underlying all these things?

This allows me to categorize it and say, "I accept it" or "I reject it," and so on.

GARFINKEL: I do not have a sense of a method yet. Let me try another approach. Let us say that you have given us, say, a rough description of what you do in the form of something that would do for the dictionary of occupational titles. But I want something else.

BUNDY: Do you want me to try it again?

GARFINKEL: Yes. What I am trying to ask is: You gave us one collection of forecasts and recommendations; all right?

BUNDY: Yes.

GARFINKEL: It was a reasoned collection; let's call it that. A catalog of recommendations was provided in your talk, together with some indication of the grounds on which you were making them as recommendations.

BUNDY: Making those statements.

GARFINKEL: That initial corpus of statements that we were discussing as maxims, okay? We want to see why you would come to say these things. For example, when you said what young people should have as skills in the future. . . .

BUNDY: Yes.

GARFINKEL: Suppose I wanted to come to an altogether different set of forecasts of skills that students would need to have? How would I do it?

Don't tell us what organizations we would have to belong to. Don't tell us what your head is like because there is no way of our doing it *with* *your head.* Think of your method instead as a device that you are making available to me, even in a cursory way. You might say, "Well, I will tell you what you can do if you wanted to reorder radically the numbers as well as the cogency of the list of skills needed in the future; I will tell you that you might go back to Maslow's device for future forecasting and substitute for Maslow's device, device so-and-so, whatever it is." That would be one answer to my question–at some point to substitute one conceptual basis for another to construct an alternative picture of the future.

BUNDY: That is easy.

GARFINKEL: That is the procedure. But you could also construct criteria for how this substituting of basic concepts might be done. You might say, "Another thing you could do is to play with the work of figurative reasoning." Instead of retaining, say, a figurative play on Maslow–meaning whatever he suggests we will do–you might want to do your work by constructing a list of skills needed in the future by using pre-decided criteria that every futurist will have to satisfy before he or she even could be taken seriously, in which case you are putting constraints on everything. Maslow will be used to elaborate, say, the eligibles. But then you will make those eligibles subject to what the Bureau of the Census would permit you to check out by turning all those into quantitative-state affairs. And we might say, "If we cannot make those assessments, if you cannot construct these criteria, we will not be interested."

BUNDY: All forecasts are based on assumptions. There is no forecast where you cannot say, "Here are the assumptions–bing, bing, bing."

But the "assumption change" does not depend simply on the professional's turning to a new set of bloodless sardonic assumptions. One way to alter or introduce a technique is to set out different assumptions. One way to get different assumptions is to go to people who have had an entirely different life experience, who have entirely different perceptions of social reality. For example, if you talk to a black in the inner city, he will come out with some quite different assumptions about how bureaucracy works and how government works than someone who has enjoyed the privileges of society. If you talk to somebody from an oriental religion, he will have different assumptions about time, which will result, obviously, in quite different concepts of the future. Is this getting to what you are saying?

GARFINKEL: Not exactly. Consider. All of the issues you present depend on my willingness to buy the Lewinian notion of a "life space" as a basis for formulating what kind of a question we are dealing with. I don't mind your making your own selections; I think you have been very fair on that, but at the same time, the fact is you made a selection. I find myself invited either to talk to the points as you have defined them or else you don't want to play What if we don't accept Lewin's "life space" or Coleman's "action space," Maslow's "self-defined learning" or Illich's "convivial tools"?

BUNDY: What do you mean by that?

GARFINKEL: Let me get to the issue. I don't want to go to the *human relations version* of *life-in-society* as grounds—as monopolized grounds or single grounds or even as preferred grounds—to find out what the work of forecasting could be. I am talking now from my own interests. To what depth of detail would you yourself "relativize" these theories . . . in order to do the work and still be able to forecast? If instead of beginning with Lewin's conception of "life space" or his human relations emphasis, if we wanted to go another route—the route of consulting the political expertise of organizers in the community—would you change the method or the forecast? Were we to do that, we would have an *ad hoc* way of defining the substantiality of actions (yet the notion of bureaucratic settings might be drawn from any damn place they want).

Would you go from other concepts to other pictures of the future rather than from psychological concepts such as Maslow's or Lewin's "life space" to "pictures of the future"? Let me take an analogy. You have people organizing in New York City who have been trained in sociology. They had Max Weber at their fingertips when the whole civil rights thing got underway. They *already saw* what kind of uses the notion of "community" could be put to in order to get some action underway . . . in order to start organizing in the community. They were not borrowing on "human relations rhetoric."

LES SILVERMAN: You are right. That was not their rhetoric at all. They were not using human relations rhetoric to talk to each other, to talk across to the city administration, to talk to the people in educational associations. To get "the city to be responsive to the local community" was purely political.

GARFINKEL: They did not talk.

SILVERMAN: They said, "How do we get to the mayor?"

GARFINKEL: That is right.

BUNDY: Are you saying to me that regardless of what they said politically, down below they had no particular belief?

GARFINKEL: I am talking about effective action. They began with Weber but they acted in the streets.

SHAPIRO: If there are alternative methods of making the future other than beginning with Lewin's "human relations" model or beginning with the notions of an intellectual elite, where does one begin? That is part of Mr. Garfinkel's revision of Study Commission ideas about how future planning should be done. Here's something word for word from what Garfinkel wrote: "Futurists exert too goddamn much influence. They are part of an elitist, racist establishment. The concern of the Study Commission is to provide the means to groups in the population so they can have their own futures groups so there are alternative futures."

BUNDY: Something I am not sensing in this group is any deep feeling of urgency, any deep feeling of commitment to kids, to what is happening in a lot of communities in this country.

I am getting the overpowering feeling that people want to come together and just talk nicely and debate about words and maybe come up with some document that will, say, echo needs. Again, I am not speaking of everybody.

I find myself very uncomfortable here in this group. I feel there is a lot of intellectual nitpicking going on. I feel there is no real focus and desire to look at the things that people are facing this minute in our society. That is so overwhelming that I cannot get with some of the kinds of things you are trying to say.

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[The group reconvened after a brief recess.]

CHUCK CASE: The majority of the future writing popular at the moment (the popularity itself is a problem) is of the Rand-Hudson brand—"establishment" type of futurology, that in essence says we can, through extrapolation and linear projection, continue the world as it is, but we can do the same old crap more efficiently. I level that same charge against some systems theorists, too. There is a whole group that is motivated the same way—let's keep the world as it is. They're saying, "We can be better oppressors than we are now," as opposed to people who are trying to say to other people, "What we can do is work together to liberate all of us."

We are all oppressed in one way or another. I am oppressed in certain ways, the same as are women, blacks, Chicanos, and others. But it gets more subtle when we are white and middle class or above, because we get on-going little rewards that make the oppression a little more palatable.

If I am going to run a contrast to the linear extrapolation, what I want to do is to show that there are holistic systems of analysis and of design, the whole general systems theory type of thing, or the kind of evolving thing where they play with the systems dynamics process of analysis and design, where they are not dealing with cold, hard empirical data. Jay Forrester's and Meadows' method is *not* dealing only with cold, empirical data. They are actually dealing on a community level with the perceptions people have in that community, relating that perception control to our behavior—how we perceive certain realities and the discrepancies between our perceptions and the perceptions of others. That may relate to Garfinkel's example of knowing Weber and yet going to the streets "to be a futurist."

One of the things that has been most interesting to me over the last three or four years as I have worked with a variety of different groups, plus students on campus, in this whole area of what we call future cognition and planning, thinking about the future, defining criteria and seeking ways to plan—one of the things that has been overpowering to me is the fantastic emotional and cognitive blocks that people have when it comes to thinking about the future.

We mentioned alienation this morning. Someone was pushing for a definition. My definition of alienation is powerlessness. We are immobilized in some given kinds of situations. Some kinds of environmental conditions have caused that kind of powerlessness.

That alienation, I find, has permeated whites of all class levels, as it has with any other groups that I have worked with. I originally attributed this sense of powerlessness in this region to some active concepts of predestination that were operating in people's heads. As more and more probing took place, that did not seem terribly valid—not as valid as we had originally thought. It began to be clear to me that there were *various forms* of *institutional alienation*—that the disease had to do with the whole kind of powerlessness people feel, a sense of incapacity to change anything due to the complexity of structures and institutions and so on.

The basic assumption that I start from—we all have to start from someplace—is if man so wishes he can in fact control and design his future, but he must do so collaboratively with others. Now when I say "design a future," I do not mean that I sit down and make out a nice architectural blueprint of what I want thirty years down the road. I perhaps decide in a group that one of the primary values that will motivate human behavior in the future will be cooperation and collaboration, that competition will be de-emphasized. That immediately sets into play a whole different set of human interactions than what exist in the society we are familiar with now, which emphasizes much more competition than cooperation and collaboration. That is the kind of broad definition that I think we need to seek agreement on and have dialogue on so that we reach agreement on it in the future, and from that we can come back and look at where we are now in relationship to that value.

There are many conflicting trends in motion. We do not have any collective criteria by which to say, "This trend may help us toward the direction we want to go and this trend very definitely will not." Values must be some kind of leap. About the only thing we can say is that a nuclear disaster would be a bad thing. That is about the only thing I can find any collective agreement on. We do not have any agreed-upon criteria with which we can look at these trends and make some judgments, much less know what kind of interventions we need to begin to make.

We do know, and this is, again, where history is helpful to us—we do know when we want to make some kind of massive change, that normally we deal with a tremendous time lag between the time we initiate the change and the time it comes to fruition, because it takes us time collectively to learn the new behaviors and the new skills that go with that change.

I just wanted to give you that kind of background. *One of the continuing interests of mine with regard to the educational processes, as I look at the elementary schools and secondary schools and colleges and universities and everything else, is as you look at the curricula and instructional practices in most of those institutions, the primary emphasis—when it comes to modes of thinking, the primary emphasis is on linear causality. There is very, very little experience provided people so that they learn to think in terms of holistic thought, in terms of complex wholes and the interactions between them.*

We have been particularly caught up in what I call the white rat syndrome, where we extract two variables from a situation and then say, "What is the relationship between them?" That relationship in no way precipitates the relationship, when they are part of ten other parts that make up the whole.

We do not provide kids or adults the methods by which to begin thinking that way. I look at my own educational experiences. All the way through graduate school I had one professor—two professors, one of whom directly tried to help me go into this, and the other may not even know he indirectly helped me. Those were the only two experiences I had to get me out of that conditioning process I had been through.

Yet, when you take little kids—I know a graduate student who has been working now with third grade students and he has been teaching them futures forecasting techniques: normative, exploratory, cross impact, matrix, construction, synectics—futures. This process "works" with children; it works with all sorts of communities. It gives them a sense that they can take their futures into their own hands.

The educational process and the conditioning processes that we have gone through have tended to close us in, and so maybe one of the starting points is giving us some experience whereby we gain some self-confidence with creative thought and creative behavior, so we can then direct it toward the collective action.

Let's take a common reference for the development of new modes of futures planning. I understand most of you are familiar with *The Limits to Growth* hypothesis that has been put out. The establishment futurist organizations are trying to discredit that and they are trying to discredit it by calling it a "gloom and doom" document.

I do not see it as a "gloom and doom" document because I have enough confidence and a positive enough image of man that I believe man can in fact change his behavior and forestall that so-called doom. I think what these "gloom and doom" people are saying is that they do not have any confidence in man's ability to work together and change, and I grant you there is a whole lot of historical evidence that might lead them to that conclusion, but I am totally immobilized if I start believing that.

We have been so jumped on for so many years by straight empirical scientists that we apologize for using our institution.

LARRY FREEMAN: Yes.

DEAN CORRIGAN: Garfinkle is starting to agree with you now.

GARFINKEL: I didn't recognize your method, but you *are* talking method. What you are talking about as method I have been into. I have been doing a study of what I think of as the structures of practical action and ordinary reasoning.

CASE: You use every tool you can, including intuition.

GARFINKEL: However, you don't cut your brains out to study how you can make your brains effective.

You spoke of kids; what happens with kids when you teach them some of the practices of futuristic reasoning or dealing in futures or however you speak about it. I am really intrigued with that. I understand that as part of a description of the day-to-day job of a futurist. I understand the premise from which you start.

TEACHER EDUCATION:
A FUTURE OF DECLINING NEED–TOWARD THE REDEFINITION OF THE TEACHING MARKET

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Central to any consideration of the future production of teachers is the manner in which school populations expand and contract. It is central because the most important factor in determining the demand for teachers is the supply and composition of the school-age population. When that population expands, the schools expand and the demand for teachers increases. When that population contracts, the supply of students decreases and the demand for teachers declines. Since the mid nineteenth century and throughout the first two-thirds of this century, the school-age population (5-17 year olds) has constantly grown (except for the depression years) from 12 million in 1870 to a peak of 52.7 million in 1969.[1] The teacher force has also steadily risen from 423,062 in 1900 to a peak of 2,061,115 in 1970. It is interesting to note that during the depression there was an actual net loss in the number of 5-17 year olds in the population–a decline of 766,063 between 1930 and 1940. But school enrollment declined much less (244,473) and *average daily attendance actually rose.* As a result the teacher force did not decline but in fact rose by slightly over 20,000 during the decade 1930 to 1940.

The actual supply of students, as distinguished from the school-age population, is thus dependent upon the percentage of the 5-17 year olds enrolled in and *attending* school at any given time. Enrollment and attendance tend to vary with economic and social conditions such as level of parental education, family income, and type and location of community, as well as the level of schooling. Up to grade nine, practically every child is enrolled and completes the prescribed course of studies, but after grade nine, enrollment declines as does attendance.

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[1] *Digest of Educational Statistics,* National Center for Educational Statistics, USHEW Publication No. (OE) 72-45, 1971 Edition, USGPO No. HE 5.210:10024-71, 1972, pp. 28-29. See Table 32, "Historical summary of public elementary and secondary school statistics: United States, 1869-70 to 1967-68." See Table 32 for other historical data cited in this paragraph regarding school enrollment and average daily attendance.

Organized learning outside of schools has grown very rapidly since World War I, and in all likelihood it will continue to grow.[2] Yet that growth has had little if any effect on the demand and supply of teachers. As a consequence, the overall demand for educationally competent personnel continues to rise, while the demand for *school* teachers declines–reflecting simply a contraction of the *school* population.

To turn for a moment to the point about student-teacher ratio, the aggregate change in instructional staff per 1000 enrolled pupils has been limited to an average annual gain of approximately .7 per cent since 1930.[3] In 1930 the ratio was 34.3 per 1000 pupils, or approximately 29 students per instructional staff member. In 1968 the ratio had risen to 47.2 per 1000 pupils, or approximately 21 students per instructional staff member. The ratio of *teachers*, as distinguished from instructional staff, per pupils is slightly different. For instance, the number of pupils per teacher in elementary schools is expected to decline from 28.4 in 1960 to 22.7 in 1980. The secondary pupils per teacher per class is expected to decline from 21.7 in 1960 to 18.9 in 1980.[4]

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[2] For a detailed discussion of the growth in organized learning outside of the core system of public and regular nonpublic elementary and secondary schools and colleges and universities, see Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force," Working Paper (Syracuse, New York, Educational Policy Research Center, 1970).

[3] *Statistics of State School Systems 1967-68*, National Center for Educational Statistics, USHEW No. (OE) 20020-68, USGPO No. HE 5.220:20020-68, p. 4. See especially Table B, "Instructional staff, enrollment, and instructional staff per 1000 pupils enrolled in full-time public elementary and secondary day schools: United States, 1929-30 to 1967-68."

[4] See *Projection of Educational Statistics to 1981*, 1971 Edition, National Center for Educational Statistics, DHEW Publication No. (OE) 72-99, USGPO No. HE 5.210: 10030-71, 1972, p. 61. See Table 27, "Pupil-teacher ratios in regular elementary and secondary day schools, by institutional central and organizational legal: United States. fall 1960 to 1980."

Future Expansion of the Schooling System

What are the variables, within the context of the present schooling system, that might alter the demand for teachers? The possibilities fall into five categories: (1) change in student-teacher ratio, (2) further reduction of the dropout rate (now about 20 per cent), (3) downward expansion into mass pre-primary education, (4) expanded school year, (5) compensatory education.

1. **Student-Teacher Ratio.** Student-teacher ratio might be reduced at a faster rate than the above mentioned historical rate. That seems unlikely, given a history of change which seemed to have ignored such factors as the depression, World War II, the Korean War, sputnik and the ensuing education crisis, television and other major electronic communication changes, Vietnam and the changing values and social upheaval of the sixties, and the growing numbers of marginal learners in the schools throughout the 1950's and 1960's. The Elementary-Secondary Education Act (ESEA) has had some short-term effect (not clearly determined) on the historical ratio, but ESEA funds cannot be counted on as a significant factor during the next four years. At the very most, ESEA will be less a factor during the next five years than during the past five.

2. **Dropout Rate.** Continued growth in the percentage of students who complete 12 years of schooling would act as a stimulant to teacher demand. The historical growth rate in the percentage of high school graduates has been startling in this country. Since 1900, when less than six per cent of the potential graduates actually completed 12 years of schooling, the percentage of successful school completions has risen to approximately 82 per cent in 1972.[5] However, the very nature of that growth suggests that a slowing effect must eventually set in, and there is evidence such a slowing will characterize the 1970's and 1980's. Byrnes and Tussing project that it will take 20 years

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[5] For a detailed analysis of growth in educational attainment, see James Byrnes and Michael Folk, "The Quantity of Formal Instruction in the United States," Working Paper (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center, 1970).

to raise the school success rate to 90 per cent[6]—a rate of growth slower than any other during this century (except a brief time during World War II). Assuming a .5 per cent increase in the school age population completing 12 years of school rather than dropping out prior to graduation, that rate of increase would add approximately 207,060 students to the school enrollments above grade nine each year during the 1970's and 1980's. Based on a student-teacher ratio of 19.8:1, that rate of growth would require approximately 10,457 *new* teachers per year if the school population remains stable from 1970-1990, which now seems unlikely (see Footnote 11). One of the major constraints in this kind of projection is our awareness that any effort to further aid the potential dropout must compete with other claims for educational dollars. The competition for those dollars is likely to intensify as the last of the baby boom population attempts to squeeze into post-secondary education. The transfer of that population to post-secondary education, with its intendant needs and appetites for resources, will almost certainly slow the effort on dropouts. The schools have expanded upwardly since the mid nineteenth century, reaching a point of near universal enrollment at all levels by 1969, ranging from 98 per cent at grade one to 90 per cent at grade 12[7] (although only 82 per cent actually graduate, as mentioned earlier). If new teacher demand is to result from further expansion, it must be either above grade 12 or in preprimary education.

3. Preprimary Education. The projection data on preprimary growth are meager. But Byrnes and Tussing anticipate growth in early childhood education at .4 years of schooling per person by 1975, suggesting that 40 per cent will have one extra year of schooling by that time. In 1967-68 a total of 21,237 teachers were employed in all kindergartens and nursery schools. In 1970, 69.3 per cent of all five-year-old children were already enrolled in preprimary programs.[8] Only 27.8 per cent of the four year olds were enrolled, suggesting that the four-year-old population constitutes a target for future school expansion during the 1970's. Assuming that by 1975 the enrollment of four year olds rises to 37.8 per cent, and assuming no increase in the total number of four year olds overall, that would add approximately 362,000 additional students to the system. Assuming a student-ratio of 23.4 by 1975, then approximately 15,470 *new* teaching positions will be needed annually. But the overall demand for preprimary teachers has a very wide base for expansion. For instance, in both France and Belgium a very extensive schooling system exists for children down to age two. In Belgium 80 per cent of the children aged 2-6 are enrolled in school, in France 70.4 per cent. It is uncommon for three year olds in the United States to be enrolled in school programs (only 12.9 per cent), but the schools are now in the process of expanding downward much as they expanded upward in a sequential order. Following some point of optimum saturation of four year olds, three year olds will undoubtedly be the next target of growth, and following three year olds, the two-year-old toddlers will become a target. Indeed, in both France and Belgium, 15 per cent of the two year olds are now enrolled in school programs.[9]

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[6] See James Byrnes and A. Dale Tussing, *The Financial Crisis in Higher Education. Past, Current and Future* (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center), Research Report, RR-6, September 1971, p. 24.

[7] *Digest of Educational Statistics.*

[8] *Digest of Educational Statistics,* p. 34. See especially Table 41, "Enrollment of 3, 4, and 5-year-old children in preprimary programs, by age and type of program: United States, Oct. 1970." See Table 41 for all data cited on preprimary enrollment in this paragraph.

5. **Compensatory Education.** Intensification of effort to teach the disadvantaged child, particularly in grades K-9, may become an important variable in school expansion. There are no particularly good estimates in this area. The major source of expansion (ESEA) is already accounted for in USOE projections of teacher-pupil ratio to 1980. The other major source, OEO, is likely to be greatly reduced or even eliminated in the short term. One must assume that the prospects for any major change in this area during the next four years will depend on major federal funding, and that seems remote given the current federal budget commitments to elementary and secondary education. It has been argued elsewhere[10] by this writer that

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[9] Data from an unpublished OECD report recently prepared by G.R. Austin, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, and presented at the 1973 AERA Conference, New Orleans, La.: "Contribution of Research Results to Policy-Making in Education of Young Children," Feb. 27, 1973.

[10] See W. Timothy Weaver, "The Future Growth of American Educational Attainment" (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center), Working Draft, 1972.

increases (at a ratio of two to one) in school resources for 15 per cent of the school population (defined as marginal learners) could be justified. Based on 1970 school expenditures that would have added approximately $4.3 billion to the national expenditures on elementary-secondary education. Translated into teaching staff, based on 1970 elementary school average salaries of $8,412, and assuming teachers' salaries comprise 43.5 per cent of total costs of school programs, then the $4.3 billion would have hired an additional 214,280 teachers for the elementary schools—an addition to the teaching force of approximately 21 per cent. Of course these are very crude figures, and subject to numerous decisions regarding the kinds of teachers needed (probably requiring more training, and thus more expensive) and the percentage of funds that would be used to purchase instructional materials, special facilities, and equipment. For reasons of cost, low probability of success (even given the resources) and general apathy toward, or worse yet, resistance to, such efforts, the prospects would seem to be remote for any massive infusion of federal funds into education at the elementary level More remote still is the likelihood that states or local systems will greatly increase expenditures for the marginal learner. Compensatory education as a potential source of new teacher demand promises little, given the present national priorities.

The Declining Need for Teacher Production

It seems clear that the major factor in this decade for teacher production is the rapidly declining rate of birth[11] and declining 5 to 17-year-old population. Although from 1969 to 1971 that population *declined* by approximately 666,000, enrollment in school from 1969 to 1971 *rose* from 45.6 million to 46.2 million. The increase occurred because the percentage of the 5-17 year olds *enrolled* continued to rise. But as pointed out above, future growth in the percentage of children who remain in school for 12 full years will rise at a slower rate over the next 20 years than at any other period (except during World War II) in this century.

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[11] The number of births for the first six months of 1972 was approximately 9 per cent *lower* than for the first half of 1971. The birth rate (15.5 per 1000 pop.) for the six-month period declined 10 per cent under the comparable period for 1971. The birth rate for 1971 was the lowest on record for the United States: 17.5 per 1000. Source: Division of Vital Statistics, National Center for Health Statistics, Public Health Service, 1972.

Based on the assumed total teacher force needed on the average during this decade (2.4 million), the net annual turnover (5 per cent) and retirement (25,000 per year), DeWitt and Tussing forecast an average yearly market for new teaching positions at roughly 145,000.[12] Their projection assumes a stable student-teacher ratio of 22 or 23 to 1, but does not attempt to incorporate such factors as preprimary growth, compensatory education, demand for teachers in peripheral areas of education (e.g., corporate training). The 145,000 new teacher positions represent needs in the traditionally-defined core system of public and non-public regular schools.

Production of teachers (based on B.A.'s eligible to teach—about 40 per cent) who have traditionally sought teaching jobs (about 75 per cent of those eligible), will result in a growth of the surplus from roughly 73,000 beginning in 1970 to 175,000 by 1980. However, the DeWitt-Tussing argument is that the surpluses forecast won't materialize; instead they represent "an estimate of the adjustment problem." They predict the supply will decline as potential teacher candidates choose other fields and colleges of education reduce teacher production.

As DeWitt and Tussing note, the remarkable thing is that the potential surplus condition was not recognized earlier. The National Education Association did not begin even to publicize the possibility of a teacher surplus until late June, 1971.[13] The Mayhew study[14] found that institutions in the United States planned on creating 39 entirely new schools of education, while none were slated for elimination as late as 1967-68. The Chase Report[15] on teacher education in New Hampshire completed in late spring 1965 heavily emphasized the urgent need to gear up for much higher levels of teacher production in the coming decades.

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[12] Laurence B. DeWitt and A. Dale Tussing, *The Supply and Demand for Graduates of Higher Education: 1970 to 1980* (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center, 1971).

[13] DeWitt and Tussing.

[14] Lewis Mayhew, *Graduate and Professional Education, 1980* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

[15] W. Linwood Chase, *Teacher Education in New Hampshire*, Prepared for Board of Trustees, University of New Hampshire (May, 1965).

What one witnesses is the production of teachers from among the segment of the population which represents this century's greatest population explosion at a time when the children to be taught were born during this century's lowest birth rate. Obviously, the production of teachers must and will contract in view of this pinch.

Consequences for Teaching and Teachers

The consequences of that contraction are multifaceted–some much more likely than others, some largely a matter of policy choices yet to be made. Among the relatively certain consequences are (a) a declining market for teacher educators,[16] (b) a loss of revenue for the universities which typically view teacher production as a "money maker," (c) a loss of opportunity for many rural and small town youth who choose teaching as an upwardly mobile career track, (d) decline in federal subsidies designed to reduce teacher shortages, (e) tightened hiring standards among school districts, (f) heightened rate of "professionalization," that is, raising the level of prerequisite education required for teacher employment without substantially changing the function or tasks of teaching, (g) a general slowing in the rate of increase in teachers' salaries, and (h) cost-cutting in teacher training by such options as shifting the financial burden and responsibility for student teaching to the school district level.

Contraction of the schools also provides an opportunity for (indeed imposes the necessity of) a reexamination of such things as entrance requirements for teacher education. The historical process of sorting teacher candidates has resulted in a form of "negative selection." The least capable students end up becoming teachers while the brightest often either avoid departments of education or drop out somewhere along the line. Raising standards for admission—or recruiting and keeping of bright teacher candidates—may be one consequence of reexamining policies.

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[16] The declining market for teachers in the post secondary system will be a natural consequence overall of fewer students in the 17-21 age group by 1980–simply a shift upward of the contraction now taking place below grade 12. Because the production of teachers is so closely tied to contraction of the K-12 system, the demand for Ph.D.'s and Ed.D.'s for schools of education will be the first area of contracting teacher demand in higher education. However, in all areas of higher education there will be a *rapidly* declining demand for new teachers after 1975, reaching a point of near zero demand by 1985. The largest potential market for new Ph.D.'s will be the community colleges, which now have only a 5.7 per cent Ph.D. teaching force. (For detailed discussion see Allan M. Cartter, "Faculty Needs and Resources in American Higher Education," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 404, November, 1972, pp. 71-88.)

There may be a tendency to shift emphasis from preservice training of teachers to in-service training of those already employed. That option seems to be an obvious one and is tied to consequence (f) above—heightened professionalization. Still another option is a shift toward training of teachers for the remaining shortage areas, such as special education. That is also an obvious one. And a further option would be a shift in focus from the public and regular non-public schools as the primary market for teacher production to a much broader market including adult training and education-related fields, such as training of nurse educators and other paramedical teachers, corporate sales, and management training, military training, and adult basic education.[17] This last option probably requires the greatest attitudinal change in traditional colleges of education and is thus the least probable option to be chosen.

An even more drastic option is the complete changeover in state college programs from teacher training to paramedical training and training in related fields such as social work, which require a basic liberal arts background, at the B.A. or B.S. level. The state college liberal arts departments would be left intact as more and more emphasis is placed on "broadening" of paramedical education (e.g., tendency to favor nurse graduates from B.S. programs over diploma schools). The shift would dislocate a portion of the teacher training faculty, but such a shift may be the only salvation for state colleges which now rely primarily or entirely on teacher candidates as their source of entrants. This option will be more likely to begin taking shape if some form of national health insurance is approved by Congress which carries with it a provision of subsidies for training paramedics (e.g., the Kennedy bill).

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[17] Leo Shapiro and Evelyn Zerfoss, *The Supply and Demand of Teachers and Teaching* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, 1972).

I want to focus in the remainder of this part of the chapter on the negative selection of teachers. In the subsequent section, the training of teachers for a broader educational market will be discussed.

Negative Selection of Teachers

The negative selection of teacher candidates is well known and well documented in the United States. Martin Trow[18] refers to numerous extensive studies with national samples carried out by Education Testing Service and others which show that education majors score lowest on comprehensive tests of verbal and mathematical ability as compared with majors in almost every other field. R. D. North[19] in 1958 reviewed some 16 studies of the ability of teacher education majors extending from 1928 to 1958. He found without a single exception that teacher education students were less academically able than other college students.

Furthermore, Thorndike and Hagen[20] found that among a group of Air Force cadets who entered teaching careers after World War II, it was the most capable who dropped out of teaching, and those who remained were the least intellectually able. North also found that negative selection *in general* is more marked for men than women.[21] Based on the College

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[18] Martin Trow, "The New Media in the Evolution of American Education" in P.H. Rossi and B.J. Biddle, *The New Media and Education* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967) refers to studies by A. Chauncey, "The Use of the Selective Service Qualification Test on the Deferment of College Students," *Science*, 1952, 116 (3301) p. 75; D. Wolfe, *America's Resources of Specialized Talent* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954); and D. Wolfe and T. Ortoby, "Distribution of Ability of Students Specializing in Different Fields," *Science* (Sept. 25, 1952) 311-14.

[19] R.D. North, "The Teacher Education Student: How Does He Compare Academically with Other College Students?" in *The Education of Teachers: New Perspectives* (Washington: NEA National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, 958).

[20] R.L. Thorndike and E. Hagen, "Characteristics of Men Who Remained in and Left Teaching" (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, no date).

[21] R.D. North.

Qualification Test administered to 24,000 freshmen in 1956 across the country, including a sample of 274 men and 583 women in programs leading to teaching. North reports that 80 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women in teacher education had scored *below* the norm. In contrast to that finding, for the group as a whole, only about 40 per cent of all freshmen in programs leading to the B.A. scored below the general norm.

While these data were drawn largely from student populations prior to 1960, more recent data from the Graduate Record Examination suggest the pattern is little changed. On The Advanced Tests Section of the GRE from May 1967 through April 1970, the scores on the Advanced Education Test were the lowest of all scores on all Advanced Tests.[22]

The causes of negative teacher selection are not very clearly understood but probably have to do with (a) the rapid quantitative growth of the school system in this century, (b) low salaries and low status for teachers (until the recent union movement), (c) the lack of attraction of most schools of education, (d) the tradition of teaching by default dating back in this country to the colonial era when unassigned ministers taught school as a last resort while awaiting a pulpit, and (e) the tradition of feminine domination of teaching in this century which turned off ambitious bright men. The rapid growth of the system seems to be the central factor. I make that claim because the only other nation in the world to guarantee 8/10ths of its citizens an equivalency of 12 years of schooling is Japan. Japan also suffers the fate of *Demoshika Sensie*–teacher by default.

Nagai Michio[23] reports that many students in education departments in Japan choose teaching because they are frustrated and feel capable (or are indeed incapable) of little else. Nagai's study shows that many Japanese teacher education students failed to pass university entrance examinations in more difficult departments and finally settled on teacher education, "because it is easiest to get into." In the better Japanese universities with *sumaki mon*

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[22] Graduate Record Examinations Program, *Interpretation Booklet for Candidates, 1970-71* (Princeton, N.J.: ETS, 1970).

[23] Nagai Michio, *Chou Koron* (May, 1957).

(narrow gates), there is an "especially wide gap between the passing grade needed to enter more prestigious departments such as law and medicine."

The emerging teacher surplus provides schools of education in this country a unique opportunity to narrow the gates and raise entrance standards for teacher candidates. However, this option is not in itself a solution: one of the surest effects is simply a declining opportunity for a quite large group whose abilities would not qualify them for professional careers in other fields. Even with efforts to positively select outstanding candidates, the best and the brightest may still find teaching undesirable or consider teaching a high risk occupation with employment prospects too dim for their investment. And simply narrowing the gates for entering teacher candidates will not necessarily improve the quality of teachers graduated from schools of education, unless the gates for professors of education are also narrowed. Although James Koerner's conclusion seems harsh, there is undoubtedly some merit in it: "It is an indecorous thing to say and obviously offensive to most educationists, but it is the truth and it should be said: the inferior intellectual quality of education faculty is the fundamental limitation of the field. . . ."[24]

The option to tighten up standards and recruit better students has a significant rationale in educational research. Although the question of precisely what variables contribute to good teaching is very complex and at present not clearly enough understood, teacher verbal ability is the variable which is measurable and is consistently correlated with student achievement when other variables are controlled. In an extensive review of the literature by Guthrie et al.,[25] teacher verbal aptitude was consistently found to be one of the few variables that account for significant differences in student achievement. Unfortunately, as the above studies suggest, education has traditionally been glutted with teachers who, in comparison with professionals in other fields, have relatively poor verbal aptitude.

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[24] James D. Koerner, *The Miseducation of American Teachers* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1964).

[25] James W. Guthrie, et. al., "A Survey of School Effectiveness Studies," adapted from Chapter Four of *Schools and Inequality* (Urban Coalition, 1969).

The Ripple Effect

One of the surest effects of contraction in elementary-secondary school population is a subsequent contraction of the higher education population. Although the historical percentage of high school graduates who *enter* college (two or four-year) has been steadily rising (sharply since 1960), the ratio of high school to college *graduates* has remained much more rigidly fixed. While greater proportions of high school graduates have been starting college programs, about the same proportion continue to drop out. As long as the rise in the percentage of first time college enrollments continues to offset the decline in *actual* numbers of high school graduates, higher education will not contract. However, since the percentage of high school graduates entering two or four-year post-secondary programs now exceeds 60 per cent, one can anticipate an eventual slowing of that growth curve, perhaps as early as 1980. Even if the percentage of entrants continues to rise, the overall college population by 1980-82 will begin to decline. Allan Cartter's data show the college-age population (18-21 year olds) peaking in 1978 at 16.8 million, and declining by 1988 to 14 million.[26] Cartter's projections also show a peak in full time equivalent (FTE) enrollments of 9.7 million in 1982, declining to a low of 8.4 million in 1982. The peak is not regained through 1990; Cartter's projections show the FTE enrollments rising again to 8.8 million in 1990.

The obvious effect is for a contraction to follow in available academic employment. It is not reasonable, however, to translate that effect into widespread unemployment or bread lines for teachers and other academic workers in the post-secondary field. The better prospect is for *under employment:* Transfer of surplus teaching force to other occupations may not fully utilize their academic talents.

In view of these prospects one would expect a substantial decline in the number of students willing to begin teacher training and the institutions willing to offer such. No substantial decline is yet evident. There are several reasons why demand for training persists in the face of almost assured reality of surpluses. For one, individuals feel *they* will make it, despite the poor prospects for others, although there are now too many teachers at all levels of preparation, B.A.'s and Ph.D.'s at all levels of the education power structure. A second factor is the belief that even if employment in teaching is blocked, the student with a degree has an advantage in finding other employment. Despite Ivar Berg (*Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*),[27] such a belief is probably well substantiated. A third factor is likely to be the willingness of the prospective new graduate to simply wait for employment opportunities to emerge in a tight field, or defer job seeking until acquiring more education gives him a relative advantage over competitors with less training, e.g., B.A. graduates who immediately enter MAT or M.Ed. programs before trying to find teaching jobs. In the case of teachers, assuming an equal chance on each graduate's behalf, the chances of finding employment are roughly 60 per cent (assuming about 145,000 vacancies and approximately 240,000 potential job seekers, using 1971 figures).

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[26] Allan M. Cartter, "Faculty Needs and Resources in American Higher Education," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 404 (November, 1972), pp. 71-88.

It appears the contraction in the supply of teachers will have to be initiated first by individuals unwilling to invest in their preparation for a field with shrinking opportunities. Few schools of education seem willing now to arbitrarily close down or drastically reduce available slots for teacher candidates. Until the demand from students slacks, the oversupply of teachers will persist. It appears that the recognition by individuals that advantages accruing to the educated are so great relative to the cost of obtaining an education (until recently heavily subsidized by federal funds), that a chronic surplus may emerge and last for some time if left strictly to voluntary action.

It has been suggested that the lag in response to changing market conditions, such as those described above, is subject to several factors. Among them is a delay in data collection, and a delay in awareness once data are collected and assembled. Delay may be further exacerbated by cognitive dissonance, i.e., the readers of such data may find it very difficult to fully digest if the data are at very sharp odds with their wishes or hopes. Further, there is the "sunk costs" lag. A great many people have degree work in progress which represents emotional and financial investments not easily abandoned. The same factor applies equally to students and institutions—the difference being institutions will be forced to abandon investments whenever students do. Universities are likely to resist dismantling programs that have grown in size and prestige. Their more likely, and in some respects understandable, response is to tighten up and attempt to hold on until the storm passes. It also takes time to reformulate new plans and find the support and means to implement them.

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[27] Ivar Berg, *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery* (New York: Praeger, 1970).

The lag in response to imbalance will also be influenced to a great extent by the process of professionalization--familiar to many readers of Berg's above-mentioned book. The process reverses in principle the notion of supply following demand. What is suggested is that as the supply of the educated exceeds the demand at some level of the occupation structure, those with more education will begin to "bump" those at lower levels which heretofore did not require as much education. Cartter suggests the level where most "bumping" will take place in education is at the community college level where most teachers do not hold doctorates (less than 6 per cent do). Thus, the two-year colleges will be closed off in the future to the secondary teachers who heretofore moved into those openings. The eventual result is that occupations whose basic functions and skills do not change, will gradually begin to require as a condition of employment more and more education. Jobs taken over by the surplus "educated" will begin to "require" those levels of education. Requirements seem to adjust to the characteristics of the labor force available for them, except in cases where strong union organization stands to lose rather than gain from such a process.

A perfectly reasonable policy response is for the state to begin shifting support for post-secondary education away from the teaching profession (forecast by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to have by 1980 a supply "significantly above requirement") to support for training in those occupations forecast to be in chronic short supply, namely physicians, dietitians, physicists, counselors, dentists, and paramedicals.

Although a shift away from overall teacher production seems warranted by every available study of teacher supply and demand, an overly simplistic policy may lead to cutbacks in programs that are essential for quality education. Areas of shortages among teachers still persist: early childhood education, hard sciences and math, and special education. Not enough gifted young men and women choose to enter these fields. Support and careful expansion should be the policy in these areas.

New Teacher Market and New Teacher Functions

James Coleman[28] used the term "information richness" as a short-hand note to describe how we are literally surrounded with hundreds of times more information than was true a century ago. The accumulation, storage, and distribution of such information is expanding at an exponential rate. Coleman was particularly interested in how the emergence of an "information-rich" society, as opposed to an earlier "information-impoverished" society, affects schooling. Coleman viewed the effects in two quite different ways: (a) effects of communication technologies *within* the schools, and (b) effects of communication *outside* of and independent of the schools which, among other things, now enable institutions other than the schools to engage in teaching and training activities that were once thought to be the province of the schools.

The latter of these implications has direct importance for the production of teachers. While the demand for teachers *inside* the schools is declining, because such is a function of enrolled school population, the need for education specialists for various tasks *outside* the schools in an information-rich society will constantly increase and is not a function of the expansion or contraction of a specific age category. Yet it is closed circuit television, computer consoles, programmed learning, and the wide range of new methods and systems of instruction that are ordinarily pictured when one thinks of communication changes in education. However, I accept Coleman's argument that the promise of these kinds of changes generally precedes the reality, and when the reality comes, it is something less than expected. On the other hand, enormous changes in communication media are occurring entirely outside, and totally independent of, the schools. These are changes so powerful and pervasive as to have very pronounced but unplanned and unanticipated effects *for* schools.

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[28] James Coleman, "Education in an age of Computers and Mass Communications," presented at the Lecture Series "Computers, Communications and the Public Interest," December 11, 1969, sponsored by Johns Hopkins University and the Brookings Institute.

Marien[29] and Moses,[30] from data collected and assembled at the National Planning Studies Program at Syracuse University under the direction of Professor Bertram Gross, have quantified in rough figures the extent of organized learning *outside* the schools. I want to discuss their data briefly and its implications for this paper.

Marien's data show that while the "core" institutions (115,000 elementary-secondary schools plus 2,300 colleges and universities) comprise a significant part of the total education enterprise, they are frequently mistaken for the entire complex. It is largely ignored by the education establishment that the "periphery" educational programs, such as continuing education, vocational training, retraining, remedial training, on-the-job training, adult education and numerous youth educational activities, entail millions of hours of student learning time. In terms of the most reasonable estimates of the size of such programs, Marien includes (as of 1965) a core enrollment of 56.3 million and peripheral enrollments of 44.2 million. The latter figure included 14.5 million in business, government and military training, on-the-job informal classes sponsored by an organization itself, or other institutions. In addition, 7.8 million students were enrolled in trade or proprietary schools, 2.8 million were in anti-poverty programs, and 10 million were taking courses by ETV or correspondence schools. Finally, it was estimated that 9.1 million persons were taking some form of adult education, including programs conducted by core institutions, libraries, churches, Red Cross, Great Books groups, community centers, and the like.

It is not clear from this information just what the precise demand and capacity are in the periphery areas, but it is clear that demand and capacity are vast and are growing. There are problems with the data–including obvious problems of duplication or exclusion. For instance, Marien's figures do not include such things as scouts, Little League, dancing classes, YMCA activities, summer camps, etc. The numbers also represent headcounts only. Marien suggests that ". . . if reduced to full-time equivalents, the number of students in the periphery would be considerably smaller." There is also the usual problem of double counting or overlap between categories. Even though these data are very rough, Marien's analysis suggests peripheral activities are actually growing at a faster rate than those of the core. The rate of growth of the core activities, as described earlier, was enormous but is now about to stabilize.

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[29] Michael Marien, "The Education Complex: Systems Theory as a Heuristic Approach for the Study of the Future," paper presented at the Society for General Systems Research, Dallas, Texas, December, 1968.

[30] Stanley Moses, "The Learning Force," Working Paper (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center, 1970).

Moses' data, which came primarily from the same sources, suggest a similar pattern. In categories he labels "organization" (business, government, and military), "proprietary," "antipoverty," "correspondence," "TV," and "other adult," Moses also comes up with a figure of 44.2 million in 1965. His estimate for 1970 was 60.3 million–which, in agreement with Marien, shows a growth rate exceeding that of the elementary-secondary schools, universities, and colleges. Moses refers to all of those participating in periphery as well as core educational activities as the "learning force."

Expanding the amount of learning in the periphery will have the effect of reducing the school's dependency on its classical functions–namely, teaching of cognitive skills and providing vicarious experiences–as well as the effect of reducing society's dependence on the schools. Coleman has proposed that this process be speeded up by hastening the application of technology to learning of certain cognitive skills and by moving these learning activities *outside* the school through skill-specific vouchers and removal of the rigid credit system, while at the same time legitimately sanctioning the use of test equivalency scores for awarding credits and diplomas.

Coleman's points have enormous implications for the teaching and training of teachers. If the teaching of cognitive skills were removed from the schools, what would the schools have left to teach or evaluate? In this view, the schools would do precisely what the community is unable to do: provide meaningful opportunities to engage in adult-responsible roles and focus on socialization activities that aid in the development of information-processing strategies. The focus on ***strategies*** for learning and ***adult roles*** will require a specialized technology and educational environment.

Implications for Teacher Production

Perhaps the most significant implication for the future of colleges of teacher education is the development of an entirely new perspective on the market for which educators are being prepared. The peripheral learning enterprises are growing rapidly, but yet the match-up is haphazard (or non-existent) between manpower supply for that market and *actual* needs in the market place. Colleges of teacher education are preparing the vast majority of their graduates solely for roles *in the schools* and by so doing are greatly reducing the marketability of those graduates. Indeed, it might be argued the current education of most teachers almost insures they won't be employable other than by school districts. No studies to my knowledge are being made to determine what kinds of skills and knowledge are necessary for education specialists in the fields of adult education and training, nor how large the market actually is, nor what the *future* manpower needs in that market are going to be.

Even with the prospects of a severe oversupply of their current products, colleges of education still seem to be confusing the public and regular nonpublic schools with the entire education complex. What is needed is a major study of the manpower needs in *all* areas of formalized education and training. Out of such a study, new models of programs can be developed to produce educators equipped with various skills appropriate to the functions of teaching and learning wherever they occur in the education complex.

At present, the training of educators proceeds first with training that is largely irrelevant to the process of teaching and learning. Students first begin their training as teachers by exposure to the liberal arts, learning the content of a field such as English literature (in many cases very inadequately). They then proceed to learn teaching skills that are relevant to one institutional setting, the school, but not to others--for example, the hospital. What this suggests is the need for alternative forms of teacher education. Some students might begin with training that is relevant to the technology of instruction across age levels and institutions and proceed to training which may be appropriate for some institutions, but not others. The way we now train teachers, they are locked in college until the fourth year. Often they do not master anything more than rudimentary teaching skills until graduate school. On the other hand, in health care education, training is structured in such a way that students may choose one or two or three training programs, depending on the entry level they seek in the health care system.

In order to be able to supply manpower systematically to the education enterprise, there must be some way to train levels of skill, differentially, in the process of instruction. One might envision an associate degree in tests and measurement or instructional media. The person with these skills would be employable in a public school system at the school or central office level, in hospital training, in corporate or government training, in college or university resource centers, or in child care centers. But as things stand today, a student in teacher training with two years of course credits would likely have acquired a background appropriate to only one choice: two more years of college. The current diminishing job market may have the positive outcome of causing teacher training programs to systematically define the skills needed in the periphery education system, as well as to reevaluate the skills needed in the core educational system.

CAN THE SCHOOLS SURVIVE?

Dean C. Corrigan
University of Vermont

While many public school parents and students have reached the conclusion that our present schooling from first grade to graduate school is obsolete, we are still talking about new ways of slicing up the old model and doing patchwork on it.

We are in great danger of settling for a normal, necessary adjustment in our educational system while avoiding a searching examination of basic educational problems. The two are not of course mutually exclusive, but certainly the examination of basic educational problems may easily be overlooked in the spate of educational activity that overwhelms us all.

We have been so engulfed by the problems of poverty, the inner city, and minority groups that we have failed to see our larger failure with all children and all people. It is of course urgent that we be concerned with our inner cities, but the seriousness of the social crisis we are in ought to cause us to ask some larger questions: Why is it that in the most schooled society in history our people tolerate slums? Why have we so little perception of justice? Why hasn't schooling given our people compassion and a sense of oneness with our fellow man? The fact is that our failure with the white middle class is as basic as our failure with the poor and the black.

Because of our past evasion of responsibilities, our unwillingness to change our schools, it is now five minutes to midnight.

In Search of Alternatives

The most dramatic evidence that many people find the philosophy and methods of a number of our schools detestable is the spectacular increase in the number of alternative schools. In the last three years, hundreds of alternative or so-called "free schools" have sprung up. This has occurred despite the difficulty in starting any new enterprise, especially a school, in a period of financial crisis. These schools have appeared in nearly every state.

In New England, for example, the list of new schools ranges all the way from the Highland Park Free School in Roxbury, Massachusetts, to the Pinehedge School in Waterford, Maine, to the Shaker Mountain School in Burlington, Vermont. Some of the schools have unique names, such as the Nitty Gritty Kiddy Free School (California), Learning Tree (New York), Little Red Schoolhouse (Colorado), Sunshine Company (North Carolina), Desert Sanctuary for Contemporary Learning (Arizona), Intercommunity Learning Center (Connecticut)—names that for all their diversity reveal the two things that new alternative schools value most: the ideas of freedom for youngsters and of a humane education.

The "new schools movement" even has its own publications, the grandaddy of which is the *New Schools Exchange Newsletter* (originally in Santa Barbara, California, then in St. Paris, Ohio, and now moving to an Arkansas farm). In its first year, 1968, 800 new schools were added to the exchange list.[1]

Strictly speaking of course, this country has always had educational institutions that could be described as alternatives to public schools. Catholic,

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[1] Bonnie Barrett Stretch, "The Rise of the Free School," *Saturday Review* (June 20, 1970), pp. 76-78.

Here are a few other sources of information about free schools:

New Schools Exchange (P.O. Box 820, St. Paris, Ohio 43072).

The Big Rock Candy Mountain (Portola Institute, Inc., 1115 Merrill Street, Menlo Park, California 94025).

The Free Learner (4615 Canyon Road, El Sobrante, California 94803).

New Schools Manual (445 Tenth Street, Richmond, California 94801).

Directory of Free Schools (1526 Gravenstein Highway, Sebastopol, California 97452).

A Bibliography for the Free School Movement (339 Lafayette Street, New York, New York 10012.

Jewish and other religious schools, military academies and the traditional college prep schools are the best examples. The newest alternative schools, however, are a special breed. Barbara Leondar, a Harvard Graduate School of Education professor, identifies at least four distinct types.[2]

Perhaps the most clearly defined group of schools are those that have emerged in the inner cities. They are predominantly black, with high proportions of children from welfare families. They teach heavy doses of black culture and are controlled by parents.

A second type are set in rural areas and sometimes are run on self-sustaining farms. Some operate along commercial lines and are often countercultural. Some have ecological slants or survival slants. As with many other schools except the ethnic based ones, many of the rural alternative schools appeal to wealthy white parents who see them as a last resort for children who are totally alienated from conventional public and private schools.

A third kind are clustered around university centers and often serve sons and daughters of liberal-minded professors and administrators and graduate students. Like many of the rural schools, they model themselves on Summerhill, A.S. Neill's famous school in England, where freedom for students is the guiding principle. Some others pattern themselves on another British model, the Leicestershire infant schools, where students are allowed to choose their learning activities from a wide range of possibilities carefully planned by adults. The approach is often called the "open classroom."[3]

Still another group are alternative schools set up within public school systems as experimental projects. The Philadelphia Parkway School Project, John Adams High in Portland, Oregon, the Murray Road School in Newton, Massachusetts, John Dewey High School in New York City, and the World of Inquiry School in Rochester, New York, are somewhat better known nationally.

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[2] Larry Van Dyke, "The Alternative School Thrives Despite Critics," *Boston Sunday Globe* (Education Section), September 5, 1971.

[3] Marilyn Hapgood, "The Open Classroom, Protect It from Its Friends," *Saturday Review* (September 18, 1971), p. 66.

Grew Out of Disenchantment

Although the aforementioned schools are distinct in type, there are several characteristics that these and other "educational alternatives" to existing schools have in common. Nearly all grew out of some disenchantment with the public schools on the part of dissident teachers and administrators, black parents, suburban mothers, intellectuals, student radicals, counterculturalists, or alienated kids themselves. In their view most public schools are failing to educate humanely, not only in the urban slums but in affluent suburbs.

The public schools, this view holds, often are akin to prisons, where mindless bureaucracy, conformity, and trivia hold sway and where initiative, creativity, and individualism are punished. The hall pass, the dress code, the "mass" study hall during school hours and the after school detention hall are the most visible symbols of this "tyranny."

Whatever one may think of them, these attitudes have been reinforced by a cadre of like-minded educational critics who have produced volumes of writings during the 1960's: John Holt,[4] A. S. Neill,[5] Paul Goodman,[6] George Dennison,[7] Jonathan Kozol,[8] George Hendron,[9] Nat Hentoff,[10] Herbert

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[4] John Holt, *Why Children Fail?* (New York: Pitman, 1964).

[5] A. S. Neill, *Summerhill* (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1960).

[6] Paul Goodman, *Compulsory – Mis-education* (New York: Horizon Press, 1964).

[7] George Dennison, *The Lives of Children* (New York: Random House, 1969).

[8] Jonathan Kozol, *Death at an Early Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).

[9] James Hendron, *The Way It's Spozed to Be* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968).

[10] Nat Hentoff, *Our Children Are Dying* (New York: Viking Press, 1966).

Kohl,[11] Charles Silberman,[12] and Ivan Illich.[13]

From my experience two years ago when I visited schools in 30 different states while working for the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development in HEW, and as a result of visiting many schools since that time, I am more and more raising the question which Harry Fox voiced after seeing Fredrick Wiseman's documentary film, *High School,*[14] "Are Schools As Such Really the Best Way of Educating the Young, or Anyone Else for that Matter?"

My first-hand impression of many of our schools, especially those in the inner cities, is that they are ready to blow sky high. At one time teachers acting as policemen could "keep the lid" on 3,000 students all confined within three acres of brick and mortar, but this is no longer possible. There's a whole world of education outside the school building which makes the school environment a more dramatic contradiction than ever before.

Books like Kozol's *Death at an Early Age,* Kohl's *36 Children* and Fuchs' *Teachers Talk,*[15] which "tell it like it is," and Dennison's *The Story of the First Street School* and Hart's *The Classroom Disaster,*[16] which "tell it like it could be," are available to all.

Information now belongs to everyone, including the students. The day when a few people could control a situation because they controlled the information is gone. No one is permitted the privilege of remaining ignorant. And no one is permitted the privilege of inaction. If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem. In today's world we now *know*, and knowing and not acting *is* in fact an action. If we don't act it's because we *choose* not to act.

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[11] Herbert Kohl, *36 Children* (New York: New American Library, 1967).

[12] Charles Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[13] Ivan Illich, *DeSchooling Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

[14] Fredrick Wiseman, *High School* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: OSTI, 1969).

[15] Kozol, *Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools;* Kohl, *36 Children;* and E. Fuchs, *Teachers Talk: Views from Inside City Schools* (New York: Doubleday, 1969).

[16] Dennison, *The Lives of Children: The Story of the First Street School;* and L. Hart, *The Classroom Disaster* (New York: Teachers College, 1969).

According to Coleman's equal education opportunities studies[17] about 50 per cent of the Negro children in our major cities in this country never complete high school. The National Advisory Committee on Mexican-American Education reports that the average Mexican-American child in the Southwest drops out of school by the seventh year and that in Texas, 89 per cent of the children with Spanish surnames who start school do not complete the twelfth grade.

Racism Pervades Establishment

It doesn't take much analysis to come to the conclusion that racism pervades the scholastic establishment. All one has to do is look at the racial isolation that is being perpetuated by the schools as they now exist. The forecast made by the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders is not far off the mark.[18] "By 1975, it is estimated that, if current policies and trends persist, 80 per cent of all Negro pupils in the twenty largest cities, comprising nearly one-half of the nation's Negro population, will be attending 90 to 100 per cent Negro schools."

I agree wholeheartedly with Senator Abraham Ribicoff's succinct description of the present situation which he stated in his address at the Commencement Exercises at the University of Vermont, May 23, 1971.

> Those of us living in our white suburban sanctuaries have made sure blacks can ride at the front of buses we never ride, can

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[17] James S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of HEW, Office of Education,-Government Printing Office, 1966).

[18] The National Advisory Committee on Racial Disorders, *U.S. Riot Commission Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968).

attend schools we avoid, and can live in someone else's neighborhood.

We cannot continue this charade. Whether we like to admit it or not, this country is well down the road to apartheid. The 1970 census found that during the 1960's virtually all of our central cities became blacker, while all the suburbs remained as white as ever.

The South is rapidly urbanizing along northern lines. Southern suburbs will soon be just as white as their northern counterparts while the central cities will be just as black.

At the same time northern schools have become more segregated than those in the South. The most recent figures on school integration show that while only 28 per cent of black students in the North attend majority white schools, 38 per cent in the South do.

This country is at a turning point in the crisis of national unity.

No longer is the problem of discrimination regional.

And no longer can those of us in white suburbs formulate solutions that only apply to our central cities.

If this country could not survive half-slave and half-free over one hundred years ago, neither can it endure with separate black and white societies that communicate with each other by dispatching envoys across boundaries of hate and fear.

We only delude ourselves and mock the future if we believe that the suburbs will be insulated from the decay and suffering of the central cities. We will all soon be overcome by the same blight unless we take the giant steps necessary to eradicate it.

North and South, in schools as well as housing, we must recognize that the racial division undermining the strength of

> this country will end only when we develop a national commitment to attack segregation on a metropolitan-wide basis. Only then will we end the drift toward the creation of separate black and white societies. Only then will we truly respect the worth of every individual no matter what the color of his skin.

Many schools, in the suburbs as well as the cities, are presently set up to produce "winners and losers." So many of our youngsters are doomed to failure before they start. Their performance is judged against some preconceived average student—or the other 25 or 35 in their class—rather than against their own achievement in relation to their own abilities. None of us as adults would continue to play a game we had no chance of winning, yet we expect some of our students to do this every day in school. Failure at something we have the potential to do can be a learning experience, but mandated failure—continuous confrontation with tasks personally impossible to accomplish—is slow death. It is this dehumanizing environment that defeats the children of the poor and leaves the children of the rich with no great sense of responsibility for others.

Can the Public Schools Survive?

Anyone reading this chapter up to this point might have reached the conclusion that I think the situation is hopeless. On the contrary, the present state of affairs has much good in it if we can capture the moment, and act. The most vivid truth for all of us who are educators is that we have reached the ultimate crossroad in American education. In the face of the demands for educational alternatives, we can no longer evade the cries for fundamental changes in the philosophy, substance, and form of our present educational system. The issue has been sharpened as never before: access to educational alternatives will be offered to students, parents, and teachers. The question is whether they will be offered within or outside of the public school system. To emphasize the urgency of the matter, I would like to state that I firmly believe that the way we respond to the present demand for alternatives will determine whether or not the public school survives.

The scope of this chapter does not allow for a full critical analysis of all of the new forces influencing the schools, but some of these are worthy of mentioning here to emphasize that the question regarding the survival of the schools is raised in all seriousness:

1. **Aid to Non-Public Schools**—President Nixon's recent promise to the Knights of Columbus annual dinner indicates some new directions in educational finance that could have far-reaching implications for public education. "As we see the private schools which lay such stress on values close at the rate of one a day, we must resolve to stop that trend and turn it around, and you can count on my help in doing just that." Word is that the President's Commission on School Finance is readying a tax credit plan that would reimburse the parents of private school children for their educational expenses, because this method has the least constitutional risks.[19]

   Questions: Will each of the more than 250 religious denominations start their own schools? Doesn't President Nixon know that the primary purpose of parochial schools is to propagate the faith? What does he see as the purposes of public education?

2. **The California Supreme Court Decision on School Finance**—The Court ruled that the California financial system, which, like many other states, is based largely on local property taxes, violates the equal protection provision of the U. S. Constitution. The Court says that this system makes the quality of a child's education dependent upon the wealth of his parents and neighbors. If the decision is upheld by the Supreme Court, it could revolutionize the financial structure of public education, and bring dramatic educational reform and increased opportunity to poor children throughout the country.

   Questions: Will the rich support a new system of financing the schools which will hit them harder in the pocketbook? Are other peoples' children as important or more important than our own? Why does it take a court decision to tell us that it is wrong for a society to permit the quality of education of its children to depend upon the accidents of birth and residence?

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[19] Washington Report Section, *Phi Delta Kappan* (October, 1971), p. 132.

3. **Performance Contracting - Accountability - Educational Auditing**—A performance contract, strictly speaking, is a variety of a legal contract. The contractor is rewarded according to his measured performance at a specified task. Triple your reading rate or your money back. There have been fifty performance contracts involving schools, the government, and business since they began, and possibly another fifty this year.[20] Many educators seem to agree with Gary Saretsky[21] that performance contracting may make "every kid a hustler." However, two-thirds of the members of the School Boards Association in 1970-71 seem to agree with Leon Lessinger[22] that the alliance of schools, industry, and government with the application of systems analysis and cost accountability will make "every kid a winner."

Questions: Is it just by coincidence that so many state legislatures were faced with accountability legislation this past session which had almost exactly the same wording? Are you as worried as I am about the narrowness of the objectives that the performance contractors have chosen to measure? Why did the teachers and Dorsett Educational Systems teach the students the answers to the National Achievement Test questions in Texarkana? Are the performance contractors, or professional educators, interested in and qualified to help students learn to inquire into and clarify their values and knowledge relating to the human problems of pollution, poverty, prejudice and peace? Can we educators justify criticizing the performance contractors for their over-emphasis on the cognitive and lack of emphasis on the affective until we put our own house in order? In answer to the demands for accountability, will the education profession accept an internal performance contracting approach such as the one being developed by teachers in Mesa, Arizona?

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[20] James A. Mecklenberger and John A. Wilson, "Learning C.O.D. Can the Schools Buy Success?" *Saturday Review* (September 18, 1971), p. 62.

[21] Gary Saretsky, "Every Kid A Hustler," *Saturday Review* (June, 1971), p. 595.

[22] Leon Lessinger, *Every Kid A Winner: Accountability in Education* (Palo Alto, California: Science Research Associates College Division, 1970).

4. **Lack of National Commitment to the Problems of Minorities**—Our country is split wide open by the divisiveness of prejudice and polarization. As Lawrence Cremin of Columbia has said, any system of universal education is ultimately tested at its margins. What is or is not done for the education of the disadvantaged, those who have hitherto stood on the periphery of our concerns, will determine the effectiveness of the entire system. In the face of the aforementioned truth, after President Nixon's recent appointee to the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Burger, handed down his fuzzily written decision requiring school busing for purposes of racial balance, the President publicly ordered his subordinates to enforce the decision to the *minimum* required by law, and then blocked the Austin, Texas, integration plan.[23]

   Questions: Will the blacks and whites who still believe in the need to educate their children to live in a multi-racial society, and in a multi-racial world, hold out any hope or will they opt out of the system entirely? How will the new Supreme Court, with the two new Nixon appointees, respond to the recent Detroit, Michigan, case in which U. S. District Court Judge Stephen J. Roth[24] declared that what appears to be *de facto* segregation in the Detroit school system is actually *de jure* and must be abolished? How many more high school principals in suburban Detroit will be tarred and feathered by the Ku Klux Klan for organizing a human relations program for blacks and whites before the kind of national leadership emerges that says that no race can choose to live in isolation or be quarantined by the rest? Do our national political and educational leaders see the schools as part of this problem and/or part of the solution?

5. **Disestablishing the Schools and De-Schooling the Culture**—There are increasing numbers of people who agree with Ivan Illich that the schools should be disestablished; that compulsory education laws should be repealed; that provisions should be made for

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[23] Stewart Alsop, "The Big Ugly Sleeper," *Newsweek* (October 18, 1971), p. 130.

[24] "Attack on De Facto," *Time* (October 11, 1971), pp. 23-24.

constitutional guarantees against discrimination on the basis of possession of a high school or college diploma or advanced degree; that there ought to be a roll-back of public support of public schools and instead each individual should have his own edu-credit card which he may use to receive his equal share of public education resources (broader than the voucher plan, because Illich would not confine its use to schools).[25] He, like Marshall McLuhan of the 1950's, argues that the reason our schools seem to be doing everything wrong these days is that schools are basically wrong per se. On October 24-26, 1972, a conference entitled *Should Schools Survive?* was held at the Bergamo Learning Center in Dayton, Ohio. The meeting was called to discuss Illich's book, *Deschooling Society*, and had as its principal speaker Everett Reimer,[26] author of the recently published book, *School is Dead.* I understand they had difficulty making room for the large crowd that showed up.

Questions: For those who think schools should survive, I would like to know *how?* For those who think schools are dead and should be given a hasty burial, I would like to know *what will replace them?*

The following could also be added to the above list of forces affecting American education: (1) The Voucher System just now getting underway;[27] (2) former Assistant Secretary for Education (HEW) Sidney Marland's new Career Education thrust as the Office of Education's top priority for the 70's;[28] and, (3) the

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[25] Ivan Illich, "The Alternative to Schooling," *Saturday Review* (June 19, 1971), p. 44.

[26] Everett Reimer, *School is Dead: Alternatives in Education* (New York: Doubleday, 1971).

[27] Peter A. Jansen, "Education Vouchers," *American Education* (December, 1971), p. 9, and "OEO's Voucher Experiment Still Go," *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1971), p. 72.

[28] *Washington Report*, "Officials at USOE Declare Policy Plans," *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1971), p. 75.

National Assessment Program, particularly the examination questions in the Citizenship Education Sections.

The objectives of the aforementioned forces are in some cases antithetical. However, the one thing they have in common is that they are against one aspect or another of the present educational system. Needless to say, the constituencies supporting each of the aforementioned directions represent some of the most vociferous and powerful elements in this country. However, that does not necessarily mean that they all speak for the best interest of children and youth. Although they may not act in collusion, the combined impact of the above forces simultaneously tugging at the public school system could destroy it.

Alternatives Within the Public System

Personally, I do not see de-schooling coming to America as some others do, but I do see the schools changing significantly. There are some hopeful signs on the horizon. None other than Jerome Bruner, in his revisit to the *Process of Education,* has reversed his position in calling for a new emphasis in reforming the schools.[29] In a speech to the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, he said, "I believe I would be satisfied to declare, if not a moratorium, then something of a de-emphasis on matters that have to do with the structure of history, the structure of physics, the nature of mathematical consistency, and deal with it rather in the context of the problems that face us. A decade later, we realize that *The Process of Education* was the beginning of a revolution, and one cannot yet know how far it will go. Reform of curriculum is not enough. Reform of the school is probably not enough. The issue is one of man's capacity for creating a culture, society, and technology that not only feed him but keep him caring and belonging."

Also on the side of hope for the future, some beginnings are now underway inside the formal educational system which indicate that things can change. Already in operation are schools without walls, free universities, human potential growth centers, open classrooms and a myriad of other initiatives designed to enable "free learning" to commence.[30] And most heartening of all is the emergence of a new spirit among groups of teachers, joining together through what Joseph Featherstone calls "a common conviction of what it means to do a good job." Once teachers and students begin to ask themselves what they are really doing in school, why they are doing it, and what they could and should do, I think we will see some extraordinary changes.

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[29] Jerome S. Bruner, "The Process of Education Revisited," *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1971), p. 18.

My own perference is to develop alternatives within the public schools and to do it now. The trick is to get the public schools to respond to both diversity and individual rights in school decision making. What is needed are public schools of choice. Needed are alternative programs, each of which carries with it new curriculum and new personnel. This choice system would tend to minimize conflict among interest groups because each individual would be making direct decisions in educational affairs. Furthermore, the choice system would have a revitalizing effect. As different options proved successful, they would increase in popularity and would then be expanded into more schools in the system. It should be possible to develop within a neighborhood, a school district, or a metropolitan region several different models that would offer real choices to all those involved in the educative process.

Mario Fantini offers the following options which might emerge in elementary schools in a district.[31]

Option one The [illegible] school is traditional. The school is graded an[illegible] learning of basic skills–reading, writing a[illegible] cognition.

Option two T[illegible] on-traditional and non-graded–in many ways it is [illegible] British primary schools and the Leicestershire system.

Option three The school emphasizes learning by vocational processes–doing

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[30] Herbert S. [illegible] Alternatives," *Phi Delta Kappan* (October, 1970), p. 120.

[31] Mario Fantini, [illegible] Students [illegible] ents and Teachers," *Phi Delta Kappan* (May, 1971), p. 542.

	and experiencing. All activity is specifically related to the world of work.
Option four	This school is more technically oriented. It utilizes computers to help diagnose individual needs and abilities and uses computers and other media for instructional purposes.
Option five	This school is a total community. It operates on a 12 to 14 hour basis at least six days a week throughout the year. It provides services for adults as well as children. Services such as health care and legal and employment assistance are available within the school facility. It is governed by a community board.
Option six	This school is a Montessori school. Students move at their own pace and are largely self-directed. The teacher operates with a very specific methodology which places special emphasis on the five senses.
Option seven	This school is multi-cultural. It has four or five ethnic groups especially represented in the student body. The school's curriculum and the process of learning in heterogeneous groups view diversity as a value. It is humanistically oriented. The school is run by a policy board made up of equal numbers of parents and teachers and is only tangentially responsible to the central board of education.

The same variety of offerings, teaching styles, and learning environments could be developed within one school facility. The bulk of parents and students could continue with educational programs just as they have been but those who wanted to try something different could do so.

Fantini also points out ways that high school alternatives could also be integrated into the public system.[32] For example, there could be a standard or traditional high school; a university experimental high school that is a learning center for students, teachers, and those who train teachers; a classical school that emphasizes languages, learning, and rigid disciplines; a vocational-technical complex; a high school that emphasizes independent work and personal development, where students and teachers share a joint responsibility for the program; a high school (or student-run high school supplementary program) that in some way addresses itself to the special concerns of particular students–where perhaps students from a variety of ethnic groups could work out questions of identity, power, self-determination and social-self-actualization; and, finally, a high-school-without-walls concept, such as in Philadelphia, where students utilize the resources and institutions of the city and community as learning environments.

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[32] Fantini, p. 543.

It should be noted that the choice system is directed toward providing openness: the concept values diversity; it is public, therefore it is non-exclusive; it enhances human growth and development; and it is unswerving in its recognition of individual worth. It cannot accommodate or foster any form of exclusivity–racial, religious or socio-economic class. Since it is *public*, it provides equal access to all individuals or groups.

Moving from Ideas to Action

If our educational leaders can muster up the courage and creativity to grasp the moment, they could in fact find in the idea of educational alternatives a viable method for revitalizing education in the metropolitan areas and elsewhere. But, along with a willingness to lead, educators–especially those in the urban centers–need help. To move the aforementioned ideas forward, I would like to propose several components which I believe are essential in any strategy to provide educational alternatives in the 1970's. Most of these were recommended by the *Forum Five Group* of the 1970 White House Conference on Children (John Goodlad, chairman):[33]

1. A Department of Education, with full cabinet status, should be established and supported by the new National Institute of Education in addition to the present United States Office of Education. The Department of Education should contribute significantly to the reordering of national priorities,

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[33] John Goodlad and Helen Rowan, "Learning Into the Twenty-first Century," *Forum Five, Report of the White House Conference on Children* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

establish national educational policies, and promote constructive change in educational practice. The immediate charge to this Department should be:

- (a) provision of resources for salvaging the growing number of school districts now on the verge of financial collapse;
- (b) comprehensive implementation of what we now know to be quality education; and,
- (c) increased educational experimentation through a wide variety of educational institutions.

2. Substantial government funds should be allocated for the deliberate development of voluntary schools, accountable to the public, whose sole reason for being is experimental. Designed for purposes of providing alternatives, such schools could provide options in the community and thus would attract more supportive parent groups. In time, such schools would provide examples for study and networks of cooperating schools seeking to learn from each other.

3. Support should be given to schools endeavoring to abolish grade levels, develop new evaluation procedures, use the full range of community resources for learning, automate certain kinds of learning, explore instructional techniques for developing self-awareness and creative thinking, and more. Most of all, we would urge that substantial financial support be given to schools seeking to redesign the entire learning environment, from the curriculum through the structure of the school, to completely new instructional procedures.

In addition to the aforementioned long range proposals, there are some specific immediate steps we can take to change existing learning environments. Here is a list of a dozen dehumanizing practices and conditions in schools which we should try to eliminate tomorrow:

1. The marking system and
    a. the illegitimate comparisons it makes;

   b. the pressure it creates;
   c. the failure it produces;

2. Overcrowding and resulting
   a. class loads;
   b. easy anonymity;
   c. shallow teacher-pupil relationships;

3. Curricular tracking and the caste system it fosters;

4. The inflexible and non-variable time schedule and the conformity it demands;

5. The scarcity of curriculum options and the boredom it creates;

6. The grade-level lock-step which ignores what we know about the ways in which unique selves develop and
   a. the accompanying imposition of single scope and sequence schemes;
   b. the perpetuation of an obsolete "winners and losers" concept of education;

7. Testing instead of evaluating and
   a. the misuse and misinterpretation of intelligence, achievement, and aptitude tests;

8. Failure to reflect responsibility for lack of progress "achieved" by students;

9. The "objectivity" model which prevents meaningful relationships from developing between teachers and kids;

10. The "*right* answers" syndrome;

11. Racial isolation and
    a. the prejudice and discrimination it breeds;
    b. the "defeatist" or "snobbish" self-concepts it nurtures;
    c. the mockery it makes of the American dream;

12. Demonstrated distrust instead of demonstrated faith in human beings.

Many of these same dehumanizing elements exist in our colleges and universities. If teacher education is to rid itself of the hypocrisy which surrounds it, colleges of education must also eliminate these dehumanizing features. A college cannot preach one thing and do another. If teachers are going to be expected to provide individualized activities for their students, they must learn the value of such experiences in their own intellectual lives.

Teacher Education: The Key to New Alternatives

Without new approaches in teacher education, none of the reforms proposed in this paper will be realized. To be valid, changes in the learning environment must follow, not precede, inner changes on the part of teachers. Not only initial training of teachers but follow-up support is indispensable to educational change. It is not enough just to blame teachers and hold them *accountable.* Teachers, just like everyone else, must have the opportunity to learn new skills and understandings before they can be expected to improve.

The strategy for improving the schools through teacher education in the past was to prepare new teachers with the most recent knowledge in their field, and new techniques for individualizing instruction, and send them out as crusaders to improve the schools. This strategy has *failed*—the new teachers and their ideas have been swallowed up by the system. The teachers now in the schools who are 40-45 years old have 20 to 25 years of teaching left. They are the "career" teachers. Unless we re-educate them right along with the new teachers, the schools will not improve significantly. In a world whose most constant characteristic is change, teachers more than any other professionals must keep up to date on the latest knowledge in their subject field as well as the most recent knowledge of "ways" to improve teaching and learning. The major educational challenge facing this country in the next five years is to re-educate one and one-half million experienced teachers and it cannot be done between 8:00 and 8:30 in the morning or between 4:00 and 5:00 in the afternoon.

We must develop a new approach to teacher education. Required is a strategy which brings together pre-service and in-service teachers in the same training program in a team relationship. The program should have as its primary goal the improvement of all aspects of the education of children and youth. Training should be developed as a by-product of a joint search for better ways to improve the learning environment. From this cooperative school-college commitment to the larger end in view, serving children and youth, the training program will receive its relevance and its vitality.

A new conception of colleges of education is essential for the 1970's. It is one that sees training as taking place partly on campus and partly in selected affiliated school districts. These cooperating schools will serve as "staff development" or "teaching centers." They may be located near the campus or in another state or country, depending upon the research and training purposes sought. The centers will serve the same function that hospitals serve for medical schools. Research and training will emerge from the problems confronted in improving the delivery of *educational* services. Distinctions between faculty in schools and colleges will fade as research and training and demonstrated competency in these roles become the responsibility of *all* members of the education profession.[34, 35, 36]

Central to this new design is recognition of the fact that pre-service education, in-service education, and the schools and colleges themselves, are interrelated and interacting components of *one* educational system. Resources, both financial and personal, must be directed toward strategies that link schools seeking to change with teacher education institutions seeking to break out of established patterns. Shuffling courses about is not the answer. A major shakeup is needed in both the form and substance of teacher education from the beginning introduction to teaching–extending throughout the lifetime career of the teacher.

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[34] Loraine Poliakoff, "The Finances of School College Cooperation in Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education*, Eric Clearinghouse (Fall, 1971), p. 359.

[35] William C. Rock and Andrew D. Virgilio, "Major Breakthrough in Teacher Education Achieved," *Journal of Teacher Education* (Fall, 1971), p. 274.

[36] Dean C. Corrigan, "What Teacher Education Could and Should Be Doing in the Next Twenty Years," *Eric Clearinghouse on Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Source Code X76725, 1968).

There is a great deal of talk about accountability today. Those of us who are teacher educators should be clear at the outset where accountability will rest if we move in the aforementioned directions. If school districts are going to foot part of the bill for the re-education of teachers, the program must be designed in such a way that it helps teachers solve the instructional problems they face as they try to improve learning opportunities for children and youth in their particular school and community. This implies that much more training will take place "on-site," with as many teachers as possible enrolled from the same school. In this approach new ideas will get an immediate test by being applied in the setting in which the problems and the attending teacher education curriculum emerged. If, after a period of time, the training program does not help improve the learning environment for students in that setting, it will be deemed worthless and will either have to be changed or discarded. Colleges of education will become relevant and useful or cease to exist.

In brief, the person who expects to be a teacher for tomorrow's schools must be educated in settings endeavoring to create a new kind of tomorrow. Most of today's teachers are being prepared for yesterday's schools. We must shorten the distance between theory and practice—and we must do it now. Schools and colleges are unnecessarily isolated from one another to the detriment of both institutions. We must replace our present disconnected approach with a new partnership that provides an interlocking system of *educational improvement* and *training* at all levels of the educational spectrum.

If the schools are to provide new alternatives, and colleges of education are to help initiate and develop them, reform must move in both directions.

The most vivid truth of this new age is that we must change just to stay even; we must create to keep ahead. We do not know precisely where the future lies, but we know we must *plan* together for it. Tomorrow's children and their parents must learn how to walk into the future forward, not backward.

DIALOGUE: INVOLVING THE COMMUNITY IN FUTURES PLANNING

[This dialogue is a continuation of the previous conversation, which took place at the Deans Committee meeting in Chicago. It has also been rearranged and shortened to focus on the issues pertinent to this book: "Whose interests do futures studies serve?"; "Are futurists scientists, or are they prophets who hope to influence the future to fit their own ideals?"; "How can a community help to influence its own future according to its own goals and ideals?" The last portion of this chapter contains Study Commission recommendations and the committee's suggestions for their revision. (See p. iii for a complete list of dialogue participants.)]

Whose Interests Do Futures Studies Serve?

FREEMAN: I happen to work in literature. We might well say that poets and novelists–literary artists–are image-makers, rehearsers of the past and predictors of the future, particularly the epic writers, such as Virgil. I don't know whether he qualifies as a "futurist," but it seems to me he along with Homer comes close to it. Both, like their successors down to the present, are concerned about envisioning alternative futures involving either reformation of contemporary societies or creation of new ones. All these images and pictures are presently available in the schools, in the colleges and in the universities, but they are not being used as resources to assist in imagining more humane futures or to interpret the past and the present so as to inform our imagining of the future. I am wondering how you, as a person concerned about futures and strategy in a particular kind of way, would prevent the teaching of futures cognition from becoming like the study of literature in the schools?

CASE: What I hear you saying is (and if this is what I hear you saying I agree), it would be disastrous for futures cognition to become a futures "discipline."

CORRIGAN: I couldn't agree more.

FREEMAN: But how will it become something other than the kind of dry stuffy business that is represented in the professional literary journals?

CASE: There are some people who are caught up in making future study a new discipline. On the other hand, in order to apply it, it must necessarily be entered as a discipline.

FREEMAN: The reason I raised this question is that we have, in connection with another Study Commission Committee, been reviewing the history of a number of professional societies. Most of these societies came into existence for a variety of reasons. The English types, for instance, got together partly to protect themselves and partly to carve out a new area of study. That could be defended on the grounds that the study of modern languages had something to do with the future, not just with their own future, but with the future of kids and the whole society.

CASE: I am not sure their original motivation was a real concern about the future, other than in terms of having that future be one that protected their elite status.

FREEMAN: I can't reconstruct here the dynamics of the situation, but what I am saying is you had this kind of motley collection of people who got together and labeled themselves. I don't know what the pressures were that forced them into this. The point is that you seem to be calling for a reenlivening of the schools but you don't really give a damn about the content.

CORRIGAN: Could I push this notion a little further? If you represent the history of professional societies correctly, do you think what we have been talking about here today is going to be enough to create new pressures on those groups to change?

FREEMAN: No; no.

CORRIGAN: What are the consequences of that then?

FREEMAN: I have been sitting here asking myself, "When will futurists begin pressuring states to create licensing processes for and standards for 'futurists'? And do it on the grounds of protecting the commonweal?"

GARFINKEL: Let me try another perspective as a proposal. Let us say that the "community"–local people in the neighborhood–are being taken by the existence of standing arrangements for the collection of data and planning for their future. Let us say that their data is gathered by NCES [National Center for Educational Statistics] or whatever. I feel the alarm has to be sounded that local people are being taken. They will be taken, and it will all be done in the name of utter reasonableness of going to the futures of, say, systems analysis–technological society portions; the elite portions will at least deliver these pronouncements about what these studies require, and how they are done, where they can be done, at what cost, and so on, and so on. All of these are the facts of life.

CASE: There is such easy yielding to the process.

GARFINKEL: I think it is more serious than that. I think it is lunacy. A person in contact with the community ought to be able to phrase it as a recommendation, unless it may be that it is too subversive a proposal; right?

You can talk only finally about those things, and they say there is no danger in telling what the game is about, because you never tell how it is operated. And maybe the same thing is going on here. If it is describing what the interest of the Study Commission is finally, it ought not to be laid out except immediately where the foresigns tell you what is being considered; right?

Such data gathering and planning–constructive, analytic in character–is so intense, and so, apparently, unavoidably or inextricably imbedded in the system that you can't change it easily. The last thing you want to do is to give your cards away.

Listen, I can talk because I am an unaffiliated. I am not affiliated with this community. In one sense, that is my trouble. I have nothing to lose–right?–because I am not a bona fide member.

FREEMAN: One always has to ask who is being served by a data-gathering and planning process. It depends on what one perceives as important presently and what's important for future reality. Let's assume that the numbers you are proliferating in a futures study are not about the degrees but the number of people that the Roman Catholic Church baptized. Okay?

If I believe in the efficacy of baptism, then the numbers that I collect about how many people are baptized have some meaning. But if I don't believe in the efficacy of baptism, it would mean the numbers are meaningless.

And what I am saying is that for people who happen to believe in this particular kind of baptism, the numbers may be meaningless.

CASE: It represents the whole. It represents someone's vision of reality.

Is the Futurist "Scientist" or "Prophet"?

SHAPIRO: Let me try another tack. Mr. Garfinkel has been talking about the process whereby you go from your experience to the recommendations. You made two recommendations with reference to the schools and growing out of your perception of the future: one was the idea that the schools should have greater opportunity for action; the second was that a series of human skills–that are not taught anywhere else–might be taught in the schools.

There are two ways to approach a discussion of such recommendations, and I am always fascinated with the process of approaching it. One is to confront it. Do the words have enough meaning so that we know jointly what we are talking about?

The other is to attack the source of those recommendations *from the intense living experience to the conclusion*. Mr. Garfinkel was talking about the process by which you go from your life experience to such a conclusion, and we can also talk about the conclusion you come to directly. Let me do the former: look at the meaning of your words. I don't know how you distinguish between action and information. When you say action-rich or information-rich, or action-poor or information-poor, I don't know what you mean. Those two words, "action" and "information," are really quite similar in many of their meanings.

Another thing is that I don't know, given your method, that if certain sorts of information and action are necessary for society, why are they necessarily a function of the school? Might they not better be placed somewhere else?

BUNDY: The school can be somewhere else. Do not think of school as you know it.

GARFINKEL: I would like to comment here that the difference is between "School" with a capital "S" and "school" with a small "s." I hear you saying "Schools" with a capital "S" when you talk about skills needed and what schools will do (I am reading this into what you are saying). Shapiro is saying that he recognizes that *there are such buildings as "schools,"* but he *has no idea as to what goes on there or what products they produce*–the schools with no content. Thus we not only do not know how you get to the future you project, we don't know what that future is. We can't imagine it.

BUNDY: I am saying one form of strategy would be to say, "Let's take the existing facilities, the existing buildings that we have and let's see if we cannot do something quite different in terms of functions and tasks that they perform."

Another way of approach is, let's say there is no way you are going to alter those, so what we need to do is form alternatives, and if you want to call those schools with a small "s," okay.

SHAPIRO: The redefinition of the function of a school is a conclusion *you* have come to. When I said I didn't know the difference between "information" and "action," I wasn't being cute about it. They are interrelated in an enormous way.

BUNDY: If you are asking me to define them I will be happy to do so.

SHAPIRO: I am asking you to define what you mean by "action-space." What does it really mean concretely and how is that different from "information?"

BUNDY: By action space, I mean an environment in which a person can grapple, contest and discover himself, his capabilities and who he is as a person. I am saying one of the important aspects of an action space is to have the opportunity to be genuinely needed by other people in a responsible way.

I am arguing from a basic model of man that human development requires this. I am saying that by contrast–with my action-space model–the schools today perpetuate a system in which students are, in the total school environment, not given any responsibilities that affect the welfare of other people except one, which is to be a learner in school.

Let me give you an illustration: some people might say, "Well, how about kids visiting a nursing home?" The academic when he approaches that says, "That is good because kids can learn about older people and nursing homes, *and incidentally, there might be a human need situation there.*"

When I talk about action-space, I am talking about something one hundred eighty degrees from that. First of all, to set up an action-space school is to set up a place where there is a genuine dialogue, where one can feel he is genuinely needed. Incidentally, one might "learn something."

SHAPIRO: You feel that some of the schools should provide this immediately? It would be useful right now?

BUNDY: I am saying it is important to human nature and, therefore, it is needed right now.

SHAPIRO: So it is as useful now as it will be ten years from now?

BUNDY: Yes, that is my belief.

SHAPIRO: So now we are coming around to what is the difference between a future study and the analysis of present needs.

BUNDY: Most futurists spend about 80 per cent of their time looking at the present, particularly if they are going to draw sweeping currents that are likely to take us into the future.

I said there are two kinds of human skills–the enduring human skills that do not change and the special human skills that I believe are particular to a historic age. The fifth century man probably had less need to understand organization and to use organization than young people today do.

SHAPIRO: But your sense that that is the case and Case's sense that Meadows and Forrester are right and that mankind is noble enough to stop the impending doom is a "revelation" that is sought, and that revelation carries a force that you could not get just from logic, but from your own moral values, your system of ethics, etc. When you begin to try to communicate as a futurist to another group, and they do not catch fire, then there is a feeling of dealing with the damned. I live near the Moody Bible Institute. People come by and say, "Are you saved?" I look at them; I used to say, "saved for what?" but now I just say, "Yes" and keep going. I think that this Messianic feeling, this kind of a feeling of urgency that people do not respond to your feeling about liberation and the need for everything bending toward it, may be running through a lot of the futurists movement. Futurism is not an intellectual activity; it is an intellectual *and* social movement.

CASE: But is it not our previous educational conditioning processes that force one to categorize an activity as being social [illegible] intellectual or something else?

SHAPIRO: That is true.

CASE: Why does Person A tend to view the future as closed, and yet why does Person B have an excitement and an expectation about the future? Why does he love to conjecture about events? Why is it when some people talk, they tend not to use future tense verbs?

The filters that I use to process information from the environment are the same kind I used to process "information about the future."

SHAPIRO: I have been very much intrigued with this discussion because, while it was billed as a scientific exercise in the use of a technique which would produce something for the community, it has turned into something different—not better, not worse, but very different. What it said, in effect, is here is a subject area, a new moral science, a kind of a revelationary movement very much like religion at some points, that may have enough social impact, enough universality to become the substance of a curriculum as opposed to being simply the guidelines for a curriculum. This is what I want to think about. The most intriguing thing is that what we have been looking at is the substance of education rather than the guidelines for education.

GARFINKEL: It occurred to me finally that what Mr. Case was talking about as "futurism" resonated in deep detail with what I have been talking of as the work of finding out about occupational practices and the work of practical research reasoning. The big feature of it, and research, is that any feature observed is part of the whole social system. It thereby takes on from the system–as well as provides to it–very, very peculiar characteristics. Those peculiarities are such as to be essentially unavailable to what you refer to as empirical science, or what is otherwise available under the notion of linear methods of the social sciences. I am particularly intrigued with the fact that what you are talking about is hopelessly disciplinary and I find the same is true of the stuff that I want to be doing.

The overall thing I am ruminating on is the notion that the work of futuristic practices is interesting finally at the place where it becomes a real world procedure, and in that it becomes a real world procedure, *it is in, as well as of, some social system* of activity. The problem of how–having seen the peculiar characteristics this stuff has–how you even make it credible to others, whose way of appreciating it or whose way of doing such work is itself available to them in a different set of circumstances entirely, intrigues me, and I am really interested now in digging into the possibility that there are a variety of "job specifications" making up the work of those involved in futuristic reasoning or planning or whatever. These "job specifications" may in fact vary as you go between the various social systems. They may differ in really interesting and perhaps even deep and important ways. If they do, they will not be available according to the proceedings of the usual acad[illegible] disciplines for encountering such facts of life and referring them then t[illegible]demic reportage.

The notion of revelation, I think, is not bad for understanding futures reasoning. The social structures–they are "common facts of life." In fact, you might as well speak of them as "revealed"; it becomes more recognizable to talk of them as "revealed" rather than guaranteed products of scientific investigation, taken out of the study where they were learned and wrapped up in propositional format and then "made available" for "that kind of community."

BUNDY: Normally we spend a month or two on the concept "thinking about the future," that is: What are people's perceptions? Is the future open or closed? Is it fixed . . . predestined? Can you be a passive pawn? Is there causal connection? Is there chronological connection?

What I want to do is suggest a process, much like a humanistic plan, that would, again looking at the world, identify human skills and the environment.

Can a Community Influence Its Own Future?

GARFINKEL: Let us deal then with the question of "relativizing" your work to those groups with different belief structures and the grounds for arriving at forecasts as their grounds might be constructed by various groups. Now, do you relate your interest in assumptions to the political interests of the group that might be engaged in forecasting of the future?

BUNDY: My intent is to.

GARFINKEL: Would a specific futurist who was working on the future of a community be advised, "Look, by all means go back to your communities." Understand that if these communities are already speaking of themselves as a community, that is already a political act of mass import and consequences. If they already have access to their own affairs under the auspices of themselves as a community, if they are *a political group*, that is enormously important. Are the communities told, "What futures you ought to buy depend entirely on how much you can swing right now by way of influence and getting statistics collected and published and analyzed that fit into *your own on-going here and now local interests.*" Are they told this? You could create futures planning which got the kind of data that the local political group figures ought to be collected *on its behalf.* Will you do that? And at what depth?

BUNDY: You are addressing the model for change, as I interpret it. If you want to talk about a large society with a lot of diverse groups, a pluralistic society, my hope is that all of the elements in the society will be consensus-seeking. For any group of people to live in the same land, there has to be agreement on some way to resolve conflicts, even if in the act of arbitrating it, it comes out with something not to my interest. But beyond that, in those kinds of basic assumptions, groups have the opportunity to pursue the kinds of things they think best.

CASE: One can approach the question at a more detailed level. For a number of years, I heard art teachers, teachers in creative writing, creative shop teachers–anybody who was trying to deal with creative processes–I heard them say over and over and over again, the younger they are the more creative they are and by the time we get them in high school, we have beat it all out of them–meaning their colleagues and all of the rest of the disciplines.

I had a sense of that. I had some very tentative observations watching that happen. As I have been more involved with this kind of activity, it has become overpoweringly clear to me that that is exactly what we have been doing–we have been beating down things like imagination and fantasy and intuition.

Any of our synergistic processes, we have not helped kids to develop. We have tried to get them to be very linear in their thinking. We don't help them to extrapolate beyond tomorrow, so we do not even have that parallel to draw with it.

What happens with kids is that you go in and say, "Okay, here are some facts for you. These are the kinds of trends that are in motion"–and you give them four or five trends. "Now tell me what your village or your town or your city will look like in the future"–and you do not put any time frame on there, because if you said ten or twenty years, that really has very little meaning to a kid; "future" is enough. They come up with some of the most imaginative and creative stuff, and then if you want to give them rationale, they have some of the most logical things in the world.

GARFINKEL: A guy named Anatole Hoult, who is in Pennsylvania, told me of a procedure being used in an elementary school in Philadelphia, where they were teaching using all kinds of stuff–accounting blocks and accounting sticks and these blank diagrams drawn on a piece of paper and so on. The kids would do something–anything. The last thing the teacher was permitted to do was to ask the kid what he was doing, as if the teacher had some correct version of it. Now the teacher checks on the kid to find out if the kid is doing it properly, all right? So instead, here the teacher would ask the kid to instruct the teacher, meaning that whatever the kid was doing was to be treated as right, but it was for the kid to tell the teacher. That meant that the whole thing was essentially dialectical in character.

You could not tell the kid that what he was doing was right or dumb or whatever, because you were not permitted by the rules to impart that. If you did, all that would mean is that you would turn off the conversation and you already know how to turn off the conversation. Okay?

What you would do instead then would be to ask the kid, "What is that?" and the kid would state it in his own terms. If the kid showed you this was a way of reckoning numbers, then you had to ask the kid, "How do you do that?" You would wait around, and you are now finding from the kid what it is that the kid could have been doing that is right. You are not finding it in the kid's head; you are finding it out because of whatever interaction the[illegible].

The teacher will take this and formulate this as a way one can reckon. It always was the "product out of" but tied to "the processes known."

If you say of the child's product that it was *the proper product*, you never found that the kid was anything but bright, okay? If you succeeded in *making the product* out of the interaction that existed again between the two of you, the thing you could share, you could not give it back to the kid; you could give it to another kid or teacher or Godknows what would be done. That is point number one.

When you were talking about futurist reasoning, that has to be a way of futurist reasoning, unless I am insane.

SHAPIRO: Case teaches children to plan their futures. That may not help. It may divide parents and children, and both from planners. Essentially, the expectations that parents have for their children may be different from the expectations that planners have for the same children; if you are now going to talk about community-based and community-controlled education and simultaneously talk about a value system that comes out of this kind of futures value orientation, you might find that the planners are in direct conflict with the wishes of the community, and that the kind of school that the community desires and wants is exactly opposite to the kind of school which the planners regard as necessary for the survival of the children—that this kind of paradox, this kind of relationship already exists. Without making a statement as to whether the parents are correct or the planners are correct, it is important for a futurist to recognize the fact that he has two values: one is to let the community control and the second is to let the child be prepared for the world of the future. You may not be able to let both of these things happen without resolving the paradox.

CORRIGAN: If you confront people and really give them some control over their destiny, in the process they will in fact come up with ways to deal with the future.

CASE: That goes with the whole Freire analysis and methodology—not just analysis but methodology. The closest thing in printed form is Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.*

Two quick ones on what he is dealing with there: He is dealing with the fact that most of us are oppressed, that change historically has never really happened because all we have done is change actors, because the oppressed take on all the *role behaviors* of the oppressor. All we do is change the actors. Those who were once oppressed just become the new oppressors and the cycle repeats itself.

What he is saying is that the change processes that we historically have used are not going to make it. If real liberation for everyone is going to occur, he feels that the oppressed are going to have to initiate it, because the oppressor is too comfortable in his status to give up.

Consider the situation we are now facing world-wide. When the Ecological Conference took place in Stockholm, the United States and the other developed countries said, "We are running out of finite resources; we have population problems and pollution problems. We have to slow down the growth and we do in fact have to put some limits on growth." And the underdeveloped countries said, "That is really nice for you fat cats to say that, but we still have people starving." The thing that they did not deal with and the thing that I feel strongly about is not only do we by our "developed standards" have to stop developing by current definitions of development—the GNP kind of thing—but we have to redefine what constitutes "quality of life."

SHAPIRO: A futurist's prediction, thus, is right or wrong from a value rather than from a predictive standpoint. There is a right answer and a wrong answer ethically or morally. The futurist's "quality" is determined by the ethical validity of what he does–its effect now. The criterion of quality in the futurist is not "the ability to predict in the year 2000."

BUNDY: What did you say? There is a right answer and a wrong answer?

SHAPIRO: Yes.

BUNDY: Can you explain what you mean by that?

SHAPIRO: All right. Let us say that to you there are certain kinds of beliefs–say, like the "liberation of oppressed peoples"–which are morally right. A futurist's report which offers a mechanism to achieve the goal of liberating oppressed peoples is a right report. A futurist's report that talks about the continuation of our technology is morally wrong. The criteria being used in this discussion are moral criteria. They are not criteria which judge the accuracy of a statistical procedure such as one measuring bushels of corn in America through a sampling method.

BUNDY: In futures study, you are not talking about truth or falsity fundamentally. You are going from the observed to the unobserved. When you are talking about assumptions they are not right or wrong.

SHAPIRO: But the rightness or wrongness of the futurist's assumptions will not be tested by seeing what happens in the year 2000. You can make an immediate test of the "rightness" in terms of some moral judgments. [illegible] cannot ask so much "Will he be accurate?" to determine his quality; you must ask, "Is the picture he is painting by whatever means going to be the machinery–is it part of the machinery–for producing a 'good'–ethically good–world?"

BUNDY: You could argue that the whole point of futurist studies is to always come back to the present with the hope that choice options would be more clearly understood. Some futurists stay "out here."

CASE: "Out here" is Utopia.

BUNDY: Yes. Using a futurist's picture, you should be able to come back to the present and say, "I see the choices more clearly now."

SHAPIRO: Are the choices not moral choices? There may be one set of morals and another set–a different set–of moral values separating a set of planners whose client is the military establishment or the industrial establishment, and a set of planners whose clients are educational groups or local communities. I would assert that the futurist whose clients are the communities have a moral base for making choices that is superior to that of the planner whose client is the industrial-military-educational establishment.

BUNDY: There are futurists who would agree with that.

CASE: I will agree with you a hundred per cent. Herman Kahn would not.

SHAPIRO: Herman Kahn does not have a community as a client. If he did, he would agree with you.

Futurism is a means of discovering or of preventing the kind of order where certain values will express themselves, and finding a way to achieve that order. Since futurism is a moral science, by teaching children "futurism," you are taking a step toward providing the generation that can bring about a moral society. I think what your perception is, therefore, is that if you talk futurism to children–if you organize the school as a place to teach futurism–everything else might take care of itself.

CASE: How do you mean that?

SHAPIRO: I mean that as both an end and a means. I am curious–if you took all the nonsense away about reading, writing and so forth, but you used those within the context of the kind of futurism we are talking about, I think that has some appeal. If you teach the kids synectics they will learn everything else; if you teach children in a community how to think creatively about the alternatives that exist for themselves and society, in terms of how to free themselves, they would then be able to change the world to bring about the kind of community that they would really be best in.

CASE: We are very involved with small community planning–2,000 people in rural Vermont. We come in with a mutual goal which is discussed and worked out with them, in terms of providing them with certain skills that we have, which is planning broadly defined. What comes into it are a whole lot of dynamic skills as well as planning techniques, and we also provide them with legs and arms in terms of gathering information that they need, both from within the community and information from outside the community, which affects that community.

We begin by really helping them to build a base of participation. We get as many people as possible in those small communities participating in dialogues. This is where we get into the Freire type of methodology; we try to structure the work in such a way that they themselves begin to critically examine the kind of reality they are in, and from there begin to project what they would like.

The community is a fantastically poor community. There is no foreseeable solution to that poverty over the hill, so that means that the vocational training programs and the other kind of things that they want for their kids–the money is not there for that. They very readily then began to conceptualize the whole community as the school rather than just the building. That "whole community" included a furniture factory. The factory is now providing times of the day when the kids as well as adults can go in there and learn how to use certain kinds of machinery, from the typewriter on.

We had a fantastic bilingual problem which they had failed to deal with in a hundred years. There are now bilingual classes, English for French-speaking and French for English-speaking people and better French for the French-speaking and better English for the English-speaking, and all kinds of social activities that never took place between the French and the English.

CORRIGAN: Health care.

CASE: Yes, health care and nutrition. We have been collecting data on the nutritional habits of the kids which, from a preliminary standpoint, is tremendous.

SHAPIRO: I get a kind of suspicion that when this Vermont community spontaneously discovers something about making work places school and school places work spaces and the reverse, the end-product was rigged.

CORRIGAN: In this case you would have to go to the superintendent of the schools. He is in a leadership role and took a part in getting that community to begin to do this. He knew enough about the resources.

SHAPIRO: So he had an idea as to how it might come out.

BUNDY: No question.

GARFINKEL: Yes. It is clear from your presentation that in fact the "method" turns out to be *the way in which the local community* is itself organized on a day-to-day basis. Now if that is the method, let us talk about children. You teach children to plan their futures. In your teaching of planning to children and to community people in Vermont, these practices now have much more meaning. While retaining the so-called "micro-process character," they are "someone's work." Nevertheless my impression is that there are or could be rather massive effects, that always turn out to be either standing circumstances, or changing events in the community, or changing structures in the community. What I am looking at now is what you are doing. It seems to me you have a really intriguing notion of community organization.

DISCUSSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

[This section contains original recommendations of the Study Commission, along with summaries of the Deans Committee discussion of each issue.]

Since the areas of planning and "future studies" involves various levels of government, private persons and groups, and since the federal agencies relating to education appear to be going through a process of reshaping and change in function, the question of to whom the recommendations ought to be addressed was discussed at some length. The Study Commission was urged to target the recommendations to the most suitable groups existing at the time the Commission formulates its final report and recommendations. Thus Recommendation 2 may need to be revised, particularly where it calls upon USOE to perform certain functions.

Recommendation 1:

Future studies are, because of the authority they carry as "objective professional" documents, social facts with implications for policy making. They are not neutral management mechanisms. They have large influence on the way things will be.

This recommendation was regarded as an argument rather than a recommendation, and should be expanded or rewritten so as to provide a context for the subsequent recommendations.

Recommendation 2:

Future policy groups should be encouraged to make explicit how their recommendations relate to the establishment of long-term national goals. USOE should perform the following functions with regard to futures planning:

1. **Collation of futures plans and other long range plans as they pertain to education and the education of teachers, including plans which indeed affect the context of school planning, which are not specifically labelled as future studies;**
2. **Identification of plans with education and teacher education components;**
3. **Commissioning of various plans to fill gaps in current studies such as:**
    a. **Those plans without school projections; "Structure of vocations" plans; Land use and urban planning policy plans; Community organizing and community building policy plans.**
    b. **Those plans which ignore legitimate assumptions, both growth and no growth orientations, client and cultural orientations.**

Section 3 of Recommendation 2 needs to be rewritten so that the interrelationships between and among the examples of "gaps in current studies" are clarified. The force of the recommendation should be aimed not only at "filling gaps" but also at insisting that policy-making and planning studies include education and the areas listed and that they work through the interrelationships. As one participant remarked: "In its work, the Study Commission has discovered that many present planning efforts do not pay attention to education. When they do pay attention to it, the discussion of education is likely to ignore the structure of vocations; or an educational plan is developed which is incongruent with efforts underway or planned to organize the community. Thus, even if the plans made include an educational component, that component may not be relevant to activities being pursued, say, by community organizers."

Recommendation 3:

> **Clients whose lives are affected by futures studies which exclude their interests in their execution should be given the resources to trace out the implications of these studies for them and the resources to insure more favorable alternatives.**

This recommendation, while laudable in intent, must in order to be effective take cognizance of the fact that it is directed at a systemic problem, and not a problem created by a specific branch or agency of government or a specific group of people acting at a particular moment. On the other hand, planning and futures studies are undertaken at a particular moment by specific groups. As Dean Corrigan points out, "The concern here is that the people who hire Rand Corporation have command of resources; the poor do not, and if Leo Shapiro is right, Rand will make every effort to satisfy its client, while the people who have no resources do not have the opportunity to secure the services of someone they trust to engage in planning from their perspective." The general recommendation ought to be revised calling for two specific efforts:

1. Calling upon planning and "futures studies" groups to render explicit both the assumptions and the sequence of proposed studies; and

2. Insuring that resources are made available for clients, whose lives are affected by futures studies but who have historically been excluded, not only to trace out implications of studies and to develop more favorable alternatives, but also to participate in the formulation of the studies or the planning process, so that they are not always in a position of merely reacting or offering alternatives.

Recommendation 3 then ought to preface Recommendation 2.

Recommendation 4:

The system proposed in this book should be developed so that the following components are relatively permanent:

1. **Management information on the education of teachers: inputs and outputs;**
2. **Competency-based evaluation of a broad-based sort;**
3. **Total learning communities for the education and reeducation of teachers;**
4. **Field experience in community schools for the technical education of teachers, and adjacent community formats;**
5. **Competency credentialling in general education skills and specific credentialling in community-clinical schools, specifying competencies in relation to prototypical communities.**

In encouraging the development of these components, the Study Commission makes two warnings: It believes that it is important that, in the development of the system, attention be paid (a) to the decentralization of power; and (b) to the avoidance of management and management information practices which centralize power and develop the large scale institution and the large scale community, or encourage their further unrestricted development. The purpose is that groups

may utilize the above components readily, avoiding homogenization of themselves.

This recommendation should not be attached to Chapter Five of the August Document, but should be placed somewhere else in the document, since it does not, like the first three, relate specifically to futures studies and planning. At the same time, it was urged that the recommendation either be elaborated on or placed in a context that would serve to clarify its presently too succinct statements. For instance, the phrase "relatively permanent" appears to contradict the desire to "avoid homogenization" of groups.

Recommendation 5:

This resolution is directed to the future restructuring of schools and their position in society.

The Study Commission recommends the opening of work spaces to children in an effort to bridge the present gap between living and learning, but not at the cost of tracking children into particular social roles, nor at the cost of removing "troublesome" children from the classroom. Children need, however, to approach the existing organization of work with as critical a vision as the Study Commission recommends they have *vis-à-vis* the organization and process of education. Part of their work experience should be creating alternative methods of organization.

This recommendation should be reinforced with the notion that teachers and teachers of teachers should be conceived of as operating in such workspaces as well as in school spaces. Likewise teachers' roles are not frozen: a number of diverse possibilities exist, such as community aides, para-professionals and teacher assistants.

The present notion of what a teacher is, what a classroom is, and what work is should be radically revised along these lines.

This recommendation should be strengthened by detailing the kinds of skills or range of skills that are necessary if, in the words of Chuck Case, "individuals in a group are to achieve authentic liberation, to be able to name their own realities rather than having others name their realities for them." Such an enumeration of skills should, however, be prefaced with an understanding that these skills are of the most general sort–theoretically applying to most, if not all communities–and that communities themselves should be nourished and assisted in identifying the skills needed in specific communities. The skills enumerated would be posited on the assumption that the system of oppression has been generalized. One participant observed that "the kind of oppression in rural [Vermont] communities is the same kind as in South Chicago. It may change a bit with regard to the victims–French Canadians rather than blacks, but the issues of control, decision-making, stereotyping and so on are identical."

Recommendation 6:

The following long-range principles with respect to futures planning need to be asserted:

1. **The context in which teachers should be educated should be the community.**

2. **The location of institutions educating teachers should be decentralized gradually as other institutions are decentralized.**

3. **The skills and knowledge expected of teachers should be community-building skills.**

4. **The ethos developed by the education of teachers and by teachers in the schools should point toward small group values and interactive stances toward nature.**

5. **The teaching of science and social science should be particularly affected by such an interactive ethos.**

6. **The interaction between school and community, work and play, industry and school should resemble much more the Parkway plan than that of conventional American schools.**

7. **Education should emphasize differentiation and complementarity of social role rather than equality in the Coleman report's sense.**

This recommendation was not discussed.

GOVERNANCE MODELS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE

Edgar L. Sagan and Barbara G. Smith
University of Kentucky

[The complete unedited version of this chapter–with drawings of various models–has been printed separately as ***Alternative Models for the Cooperative Governançe of Teacher Education Programs.*** *It includes a supplement by Harry Rivlin, former dean of the Fordham University School of Education and director of a Training Teachers of Teachers (TTT) Leadership Training Institute at Fordham.]*

> *Human energies, bound and flowing,*
> *form a stable system. Some are*
> *involved in maintaining the structure;*
> *some are expressed through it, with*
> *various degrees of health; and some*
> *are repressed or latent, connected with*
> *unmet needs. The structure breaks.*
> *An open space without coherent structure*
> *results; a Chaos. . . . Out of Chaos, a*
> *new coherence emerges, a new structure.*
> *Energies flow and hang until change again*
> *becomes necessary, and the process*
> *repeats. . . .*
>
> *Michael Rossman (1972)*

In a lifetime one experiences school from many perspectives–those of preschool, grade school, middle school, high school, undergraduate and graduate school, teacher, colleague, expert, administrator, parent, PTA member/officer, school board member–and each of these perspectives is quite likely to feel like being on the OUTside looking IN. Each perspective seems to exist in isolation from the next, and carry-overs from one perspective to another are likely to take the forms of suspicions, vague notions, myths, and rumors.

As a parent one suspects that the preschooler's eagerness to follow older siblings to school will dissolve into disillusion all too soon. As an undergraduate one feels that surely graduate school will accommodate individuality and lend authority to one's independence of thought and personal integrity. As a first-year teacher, not yet one of the fellows nor accorded any special expertise, except perhaps uppityness and too many newfangled ideas, one tries to believe in the myth of tenure as reward for tenacity above and beyond the 16, 18, 21 years of study. As a school board member one wonders who started the rumor that the Board governs the schools.

Theoretically, each of these individuals and each of the perspectives which they represent is a part of the school system, but increasingly being *a part of* the school system has come to mean being *apart from* the school system in terms of actively participating in the vital decision-making processes of the system. In the seventies, especially, the concern of individuals and groups who feel themselves apart from, outside of, or alienated by the system's decision-makers has been directed toward their lack of participation in the governance and control of teacher education programs as they are planned and implemented by Colleges of Education throughout the nation. To this concern—whether expressed by communities, professional teachers' organizations, state departments of education, student groups, deans of Colleges of Arts and Sciences, or individuals—Colleges of Education have been loath to respond actively. As the primary group responsible for the education of teachers, Colleges of Education have, understandably, various vested interests in retaining control over the educational personnel of the schools. Yet, the very personnel which the Colleges of Education have educated and placed in the school system have been critical of their preparation, saying that their teacher education programs have failed to prepare them for the realities of the classroom, to sensitize them to the realities of non-mainstream cultures, to develop in them the abilities or competencies needed to cope with the real world of the schools. To be both responsive to criticisms and responsible for criticisms is, thus, the dilemma of Colleges of Education confronting the issues of governance and control of teacher education.

The purpose here, then, is to review the models of governance which have evolved for the control of teacher education programs in Colleges of Education, to criticize these existing models for the governance of teacher education, and to propose alternative processes and plans for Colleges of Education, school systems, and communities to use as they attempt revision and reformation of their governance models in the future.

Human Energies, Bound and Flowing

What is it that a governance model is supposed *To Be?*

And, what is it that a governance model is supposed *To Do?*

Theorists of governance develop models to determine how human energies can be regulated to achieve the smoothest and most efficient flow of interactions among individuals within an organization. As the numbers of individuals increase, the more various the interactions and the more complex the models become. With this leap in the magnitude of complexity and variety, human energies are more and more regulated, more and more boundaried. The result is a governance model so efficient and so far removed from the individuals it governs that the flow of interactions is actually inhibited. Teacher education programs within Colleges of Education throughout the nation are becoming increasingly susceptible to the tensions and conflicts generated by present governance models. These programs, considered inadequate in themselves, have been developed from administrative governance policies. As these policies are viewed as determinants of programs, they are also being closely scrutinized for inadequacies, for failures to be both responsive to and responsible for the human energies and interactions within the education system. Thus, critics of the schools in our nation have begun to ask who is being governed and by whom, who should be governed and by whom, and to what purpose the present governance models are being maintained.

Present governance models are derived from organizational theory and follow either a bureaucratic or a collegial structure for authority and control. As explained by J. Victor Baldridge (1971), bureaucratic governance is "hierarchial and is tied together by formal chains of command and systems of communication," while collegial governance emphasizes "the professors' professional freedom, . . . consensus and democratic consultation, . . ." Yet, neither model exists in a pure state within academic governance, whether at the university-wide level or at the level of the College of Education and its departments or divisions. And neither model deals effectively in Baldridge's view "with power plays, conflict, and the rough-and-tumble politics of a large university." What both of these models leave out with regard to the human energies of the individuals involved, organized, and regulated is the "political" process of governance, the nitty-gritty of decision-making and the interactions between the many interest groups within the organization.

Starting from the premise, then, that Colleges of Education have been in control of teacher education utilizing bureaucratic or collegial models of governance to maintain this control, it will be useful to examine these models, their participants, and those to whom the models deny participation.

The Formal Chains of Command: BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Federal, state, and local government make policy that in turn makes Colleges of Education, teachers, and schools what they are: this is the hierarchy, and each link in the chain of command replicates the form of the link superseding it. One critic of this structure for decision and policy making in American education has detailed "the facts of life" of such a model:

Fact 1. **All power in the school structure rests in political institutions,** **i.e.:** school boards, legislatures, Congress, and the court system. Decisions and policy emanating from these bodies are the result of a political, not a pedagogical, process.

Fact 2. **The power in the hands of American teachers is largely political, social and economic.** The AFT and NEA, as expressions of unified teacher needs, act in all three areas, but the individual teacher is usually unable to find an expression for *his needs in his classroom.*

Fact 3. **The power of the public is political and economic in nature.** The public elects representatives, mounts pressure group efforts and passes on monetary issues. Too often decisions of the public are *votes against* rather than votes for something.

Fact 4. **Students have no power but are in the process of assembling a**

social power similar to that found in higher education. Students are unlikely to deal in the same terms as the other groups involved in the system; rather they are likely to adopt civil and uncivil protest. Individual students, like individual teachers, may be unable to relate this trend to personal needs.

Fact 5. **Administrators are merely responding to the forces and problems they meet; they are not leading nor are they influencing any of the political, economic, social elements described under 1 to 4 above** (Herbert Heger, 1971).

Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee (1965) have developed a flow chart on policy formation in education which backs up one step farther in the delineation of the chain of command, showing "that policy grows out of the basic socioeconomic forces in our society which generate movements antecedent to policy, that these movements encourage political action, and that finally these activities lead to formalization of policy by governmental agencies." In their analysis of the flow of interactions from society as a whole through federal, state, and local government to a teacher education program, Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee recognized in 1965 that national participation in educational policy making is "encouraged by the mobility of our population, the differential financial ability of the states, and the reluctance of most state legislatures to finance special projects needed by urban school districts." And they also pointed out the necessity of benefiting from the bureaucratic chain of command when they suggested that, "Those of us who would influence school policy must learn to ply our politics in the national arena just as we now do in local and state arenas." That Colleges of Education have recognized the benefits of their position in the hierarchy by becoming more "politic" in their relationships with government is to their credit.

A Flow Chart on Policy Formation in Education

I	II	III	IV
Basic Forces	*Antecedent Movements*	*Political Action*	*Formal Enactment*
Social, economic, political and technological forces, usually national and worldwide in scope	Usually national in scope such as the National Manpower Commission, Rockefeller Bros. studies, Conant studies, etc.	By organizations usually interrelated at local, state, and national levels such as U.S. Chamber of Commerce, AFL-CIO, and NEA	May be at local, state, and national levels; and through legislative, judicial, and executive agencies

Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee (1965)

Yet, the basic flaw of the bureaucratic model persists. Though this model explains adequately how to implement policies *after* they have been made, the fact remains that the links in the hierarchial chain have only the vaguest sense of participating in the very vital struggles of making the policy. The lower an educational unit exists in the hierarchy, the more remote those individuals in the unit are from interacting meaningfully with superiors, and the more remote the policies are from the realities with which those individuals must live.

Consensus and Democratic Consultation:
COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE

In response to perceived inadequacies of the bureaucratic governance model, the collaborative model between schools and Colleges of Education has developed. It is a process for decision-making based on the collegial organizational model. In some ways it represents a coalition formed of schools, teachers, and Colleges of Education to combat the vitiating forces of the units higher in the hierarchy of the bureaucratic model. This coalition has also been called a community of scholars or a company of equals, and its purpose is to expand the consensual and democratic consultation process observed in close professional colleagues to interinstitutional collaborative efforts for governing the preparation of educational personnel.

Unfortunately, the collaborative-collegial model has not proved immune to tensions, just as the bureaucratic model has been found to be flawed. Edward T. Ladd (1969) has studied this model closely and has isolated some of the sources of tension likely to result in the coalition of schools, teachers, and Colleges of Education. He has found that the communications between public school persons and university people become strained as a result of:

1. The extent of dependence which each organization comes to have on the other, a condition which in turn will be a function of the extent to which the respective organizations extend their cooperation to activities which either of them by itself could not conduct, and/or commit themselves deeply or irrevocably to the collaboration, so that withdrawal from the arrangement is difficult or impossible.

And the extent to which this potential is converted into actual tensions will be a function of two secondary conditions.

2. The extent to which the purposes of the organizations diverge or conflict, rather than being neutral or contributory to one another.

3. The extent to which the persons in the two organizations fall short of complete understanding of one another's cultures or subcultures, language, habits, and so on.

Ladd concludes th[illegible]hools and universities agree that they must achieve a mutual dependency in the future, then that agreement will have to include a merging of goals. No longer could the schools be the province of the *learner*, while the universities remained focused on *learning*; tensions would be reduced by recognizing those purposes which "are neither common nor contradictory but neutral, compatible with one another, or even in a sense contributory to one another."

The Flow of Interactions: SYSTEMS ANALYSIS IN GOVERNANCE

In recent years the application of general systems theory to problems of university or college organization and management has received increasing support from federal and state legislators and educational administrators. Management by objectives, the systems of PPBS and PERT, and performance-based teacher education and certification have been utilized to provide explicit indices of accountability and responsibility in monitoring programs, especially in the allocation of financial resources. For these reasons, the concepts of systems analysis constitute an alternative method of representing governance structures and strategies in higher education.

Essentially, systems analysis involves the determination of objectives, the identification of the applicable system variables, and the ascertaining of which activities each variable must perform or the contribution each must make to achieve the objectives. A variety of alternatives are possible within certain constraints. *Systems analysis* is the process of evaluating these alternative courses of action in relation to available resources and their allocation.

Robert Howsam (1972), in analyzing the governance of teacher education via a systems approach, has proposed the placement of teacher training within the suprasystem of the *organized profession* as distinct from the suprasystems of the academic disciplines or the school systems served The current status of teacher education is depicted in his analysis as interacting with the university, the state and school districts and the teaching profession. Howsam contends that "If education is to develop as a profession and make its optimal contribution, the ambiguity over the control of teacher education should be clarified. It should not be subject to direct control by either the state or the local education units."

Howsam's use of systems analysis to reorganize the governance of teacher education is only one of the various applications that can be made of systems concepts in the development of alternative governance models. What his approach exemplifies is that modern planners no longer perceive an organization as traditionally structured, bureaucratic, and hierarchical, but instead view it as ". . . a set of flows, information, men, material, and behavior" (Stanley Young, 1968). The systems approach is, then, a logical vehicle for incorporating current managerial technologies, such as Linear Programming, Game Theory, Dynamic Programming, PERT, etc., into the governance model.

The manager's role becomes that of designing organizational or behavioral systems for the management and control of programs. The variables are analyzed, and alternatives are considered. The proposed activities and interactions become the outline for various elements required before the governance plan itself can be likewise analyzed and reconstituted in a logical pattern, often illustrated by means of flow charts, networks, or sequenced descriptive steps.

Current Perceptions of the Governance of Teacher Education

What is the public opinion of the results of teacher education programs?

What is the UPEP (Undergraduate Preparation of Educational Personnel) opinion of the present structures governing teacher education?

What is the opinion of deans and other educators regarding needs for change in the governance of teacher education?

Public opinion is assessed by survey. Responses to the survey can be generalized to include the whole nation or specified to pinpoint only the local community. Respondents to the survey usually generalize from the microcosm to the macrocosm. In the Gallup Poll of Public Attitudes Toward Education for 1972, public opinion can be characterized as favorable though not particularly result-oriented. That is, citizens and professional educators responding to the survey view control in the classrooms (discipline) and finances for the school system as separate and distinct matters of concern that do not culminate in an overall governance procedure.

Major Problems Confronting the Public Schools in 1972 (from 1972 Gallup Poll):

> Discipline again ranks as the number one problem of the public schools, in the minds of the citizens of the nation. For one brief year, 1971, it dropped to third place in the list. This year discipline is restored to the top position held in earlier years.
>
> Based upon the number of mentions to the open question, "What do you think are the biggest problems with which the

public schools in this community must deal?," the top problems are as follows:

1. Lack of discipline
2. Lack of proper financial support
3. Integration-segregation problems
4. Difficulty of getting "good" teachers
5. Large school, too large classes
6. Parents' lack of interest
7. Lack of proper facilities
8. Poor curriculum
9. Use of dope, drugs

. . . .

The professional educators interviewed in this same survey regard school finances as the number one problem, followed in order by integration/segregation, discipline, parents' lack of interest, quality of teaching, curriculum, use of dope and drugs, and lack of proper school facilities.

The public's desire for stricter school policies bearing on discipline has been manifested in many ways in the years since these annual CFK Ltd. surveys were established. The present survey adds further evidence.

In What Ways Are the Local Public Schools Particularly Good?:

Relatively few citizens ever stop to think about the good things the public schools are doing. It is much easier to complain. To find out just what the typical citizen thinks his own schools are "doing right," this question has been included in all CFK Ltd. surveys: In your own opinion, in what ways are your local schools particularly good?

The responses, in order of mention, follow:

1. The curriculum
2. The teachers

3. School facilities
4. Equal opportunity for all
5. No racial conflicts
6. Extracurricular activities
7. Up-to-date teaching methods
8. Good student-teacher relationships
9. Good administration
10. Small school or small classes

Because of the absence of objective data by which to judge local schools, responses are almost never stated in terms of achievement, of success in reaching educational goals, or the product itself–the graduates.

Even professional educators are unlikely to judge the schools by results. When they were asked this same question, they named, in order: curriculum, teachers, equal opportunity for all students, school facilities, up-to-date teaching methods, no racial conflicts, good student-teacher relationships, extra-curricular activities, good administration, small school or small classes (*Phi Delta Kappan*, 1972).

As Martin Haberman (1973) has pointed out, the public knows the present status of education in the nation by referring to a particular school building which their children or they themselves have attended. Criticisms of the governance of teacher education programs, then, are most likely to ensue from parents concerned about one teacher in one classroom who is perceived as functioning ineffectively with the local school children; thus, the program which produced this one teacher may be considered inadequate or faulty.

The perspective from which the Undergraduate Preparation of Educational Personnel (UPEP) Program, authorized by Congress under the Education Amendments Act of 1972 and the Education Professions Development Act [and later funded but not put into operation], views the present structures governing teacher education as national, rather than one teacher, one school, one program at a time. The UPEP statements ". . . focus on several salient difficulties that diminish the effectiveness of the present system of educating teachers–the fractionalization of responsibility for teacher education among the schools of education, the liberal arts, and the school systems; the inadequacy of the professional sequence; and the failure to rationalize recruitment, screening, and counseling for prospective educators." This focus is appropriate for the national panorama of teacher education, which, as Robert H. Koff (1972) has argued persuasively, "suffers from lack of status; it is given low academic priority within institutions of higher education and in most state and federal categorical aid programs. In addition, there is usually little national or state-wide interaction between institutions of higher learning and school districts in the areas of preservice and continuing education, and there is usually little formal national or regional dissemination of teacher education curricula; . . . ." To raise the priority given teacher preparation and to reduce the fragmentation of its governance are the impetus forming the UPEP perceptions of the national education system.

The Subcommittee of Governance of Cooperative Ventures of UPEP met in September, 1972, to begin its deliberations on the action research phase of the Study Commission's endeavors to reform the national education system. Members of the subcommittee included those whose perspective on governance is theoretical, as well as those who on an everyday basis are trying to make cooperative governance ventures work. The following persons participated in the two-day dialogue:

George Denemark, Chairman
Dean of the College of Education
University of Kentucky

Nancy Arnez
Director of the Center for
Inner City Studies, Chicago
(Now at Howard University)

W. E. Briggs
Dean of the College of
Arts & Sciences
University of Colorado

Patrick Dolan
Vice-President of MUTINY
St. Louis University

Robert Egbert
Dean of Teachers College
University of Nebraska

Jerry Elbers
UPEP Task Force
U. S. Office of Education

Larry Freeman
Associate Director
Study Commission
University of Nebraska

Edward T. Ladd
Emery University

John McCollum
Administrative Assistant
to the Dean
College of Education
University of Vermont

Paul Olson
Director of the Study
Commission on Undergraduate Education and
the Education of
Teachers
University of Nebraska

Vito Perrone
Dean, Center for Teaching
and Learning
University of North Dakota

Edgar Sagan
Assistant Dean
College of Education
University of Kentucky

Milton Schwebel
Dean of Graduate
Education School
Rutgers University

Barbara Sizemore
Chicago Public Schools
(Now superintendent at
Washington, D.C.)

Johannes Troost
University of Vermont

The purpose of the subcommittee's meeting was to generate recommendations for professional educators, the community, and the Office of Education as they attempt the development of effective intersystemic governance models. In summary, the subcommittee articulated several principles or guidelines to be applied in the reform of existing governance models.

First, client and career/client involvement in decision-making and in the governance structure and process would contribute a desirable openness in planning and programming, so that all constituencies including community leaders, parents, students, professional societies, and academic disciplines would have input into the training of educational personnel.

Second, a clear sense of mission on the part of institutions of higher education and clinical schools is one definite need to which governance models should be responsive. It is probable that institutions of higher education will be increasingly pressured to differentiate their programs, "to define a specific kind of teacher or school personnel which they can produce effectively and for their region, and remove themselves from the business of educating other kinds of educational personnel."

Third, for each representative of a given constituency in a governance model, it would be appropriate that individual expertise be defined, that strengths be played to, that contributions from all be maximized in the formulation of policies.

Finally, the responsibilities of a governance system should be conceived of as regional, encompassing "needs assessments developed within a state or area" to be served by trained educational personnel.

Future tasks for the sub-committee were defined by the participants and summarized by Dr. Dean Corrigan, co-chairman of the Deans Committee of the Study Commission:

> It was agreed that the subcommittee ought to assert main principles. Four principles were asserted—those listed above: openness, mission, playing to strength, regional responsibility. Then the group agreed to *apply* its principles to a range of structures from the Federal Office of Education through the National Center for Education Statistics through state systems (to the State Department of Education, State Higher Education Planning Boards, etc.) to the local agencies, such as the local education agency and the local school district. It was also agreed that the committee would make an effort to define, through its activities in the immediate future, what the specific governance problems are that need research and what sort of intellectual disciplines could be brought to bear on those processes to make the governance of teacher education more meaningful.

Beyond public opinion and UPEP's national focus on the problems of governance in teacher preparation, Colleges of Education also contribute perceptions and opinions. In an effort to assess the present climate of opinion among deans of Colleges of Education as to the pressures they feel to change governance and program structures, the following letter was circulated to selected administrators across the nation.

At the present time, most Teacher Education programs are controlled and governed by Colleges of Education. Recently, several other groups–school systems, communities, state departments of education, colleges of arts and sciences, and professional teachers organizations–have indicated a need to participate in or take over completely the education of teachers.

Criticisms of present graduates suggest that many are not adequately prepared for the realities of the classroom, that they are insensitive to non-mainstream cultures, that much of their training is irrelevant, that their university professors are out of touch with reality, etc.

1. In what ways are present systems of training teachers inadequate relative to *program* and *governance?*
2. What changes in the governance structure would you suggest in order to integrate one or more of the groups mentioned above?
3. How would such structural changes influence the quality and the characteristics of Teacher Education graduates?
4. What other effects would you anticipate from such changes in governance?

Responses to the letter varied widely, but they provide insights into the complexities of the governance problem. Excerpts from the responses for each of the four questions reveal this variety and complexity:

1. In what ways are present systems of training teachers inadequate relative to *program* and *governance?*

Donald E. Orlosky, Associate Director of LTI
Professor of Educational Leadership
University of South Florida

I doubt if a settlement of the governance question will have much to do with improving the training of teachers. The real issue is *what* the training program of teachers should be, rather than *who* decides what the program should be.

The major difficulty currently in the training programs of preservice teachers is that:

1. Students are "talked at" instead of trained.

2. Programs are too broad and vague–they try to do too much and don't do any of it as well as they could.

3. The distinction between preservice and in-service training is unclear and it is difficult to say what the preservice program has accomplished in contrast to what the in-service program ought to do.

4. Materials for training teachers in concept and skill acquisition are in short supply.

5. Appropriate blending of university talent and public school talent is lacking.

Harry N. Rivlin
Dean, School of Education at Lincoln Center
Fordham University

Because usually only the college or university faculty and administrators plan and conduct teacher education programs, there is little provision for the contributions that could be made by the students in the program, by the schools in which these students will be teaching, or by the communities they will serve. As a result, teacher education programs are too often conducted in lock-step fashion, with little recognition of the wide range of individual differences among the students. There may also be too great a gap between the university's emphasis on how children should be taught and the ways in which they are actually being taught in today's schools. Unless the programs do make specific provision for familiarizing prospective teachers with our culturally diverse populations, these teachers may not understand or be able to establish rapport with the children they are expected to teach.

Benjamin Rosner
Dean, Teacher Education
The City University of New York

I do not believe that the major problem confronting teacher education programs today is a problem of governance. In my judgment, the major problems are (a) an imbalance in curricular emphasis, and (b) inadequate instructional materials and measurement procedures.

The curriculum imbalance problem is a matter of allocating as much as 90 per cent of instructional time available to teacher education to the acquisition of knowledges, appreciations and understandings and as little as 10 per cent of the time to the development of pedagogic skills. The perceived irrelevance of teacher education would be significantly diminished if teacher education programs allocated perhaps 50 per cent of their curriculum to the development of instructional and other pedagogic skills with much of the skill development occurring in the work setting. In other words, there is a need for a field centered teacher education program dedicated in large measure to the development of pedagogic skill with a corresponding reduction in emphasis on general appreciations and understandings.

Although it is possible for teacher education faculties operating within the context of higher education to correct this curricular imbalance on their own initiative, the pace of change is likely to be accelerated if the large professional education community (teacher, school administrators) were given a greater voice in the determination of teacher education curricula. This greater voice would be assured if representatives of the teaching profession and representatives of the school administration were invited by schools and colleges of education to share in the curriculum development and approval process.

The presence of school personnel on college of education curriculum approval and other policy making committees would have the effect of sensitizing education faculties to the needs of professional personnel in the schools and, accordingly, would tend to emphasize the development of pedagogic skill.

The present lack of instructional materials and assessment procedures tends to introduce too great a degree of individual faculty flexibility in the determination of the content and standards of the teacher education program. The need for measurement procedures to establish standards of pedagogic excellence is obvious. Instructional materials concerned with the development of important pedagogic concepts and significant pedagogic skills would also strengthen the power of the teacher preparation curricula.

To a degree, then, the inadequate participation of school personnel in teacher training programs can be corrected by changes in governance, but significant improvement in teacher education curricula will need to be accompanied by the development of multi-media instructional systems and assessment procedures.

Herbert Heger
Associate Director, Louisville Urban Education Center
University of Kentucky

Since a system of governance determines factors like personnel responsibility and accountability, it would seem that an ideal system of governance would equitably represent those persons or groups with legitimate concerns about and input for the particular endeavor. The present situation is simply that no system of governance can be said to exist. Teachers are under school board governance, with some governance from professional groups. Teacher education is primarily responsible to individual university governance systems, systems which are dominated by groups. In theory all of this is held together by state government –universities and school systems are both agencies and creatures of the state. Even here, governance is fragmented and ineffectual, with power in one place for school governance, another for university governance, and yet another for certification of teachers. If one defines a system in terms of functional criteria, equity criteria, and data flow criteria (to name a few), the only conclusion is that there is no operational system of governance of teacher education. This system should be a subsystem of a larger system of governance of education, but even this does not really exist.

The only place where all aspects of the governance of education come together is in the legislature, which is overloaded to the point of near collapse in most states. The answer to the question, then, is that there is *no* governance *system* for teacher education, but there is a need for one.

2. What changes in the governance structure would you suggest in order to integrate one or more of the groups mentioned above?

Donald J. McCarty
Dean, School of Education
University of Wisconsin–Madison

Ideally, I think Schools of Education in major universities should provide the leadership for melding together the various reference groups. To some degree we are doing this. In Wisconsin the state has mandated a Human Relations requirement for teacher certification; as a result, we will be trying to make new teachers sensitive to non-mainstream cultures. What I am trying to say is that changes in governance structures do not resolve substantive problems. It is not structure so much which impedes growth, it is lack of will. In sum, if individuals really want to reach an objective, they will adjust their present structure to accommodate to their purposes. I am always turned off by management specialists who try to sell a new procedure whatever its theoretical merits as *the* answer to substantive issues. Ends are more important than means.

Sam P. Wiggins
Dean, College of Education
The Cleveland State University

The academic and professional sectors of the university faculty need to join forces with professional school personnel in establishing a viable set of objectives which build upon knowledge and its application with reference to public education. . . .

The second question has to do with how we work toward establishing consensus among the voices of professional personnel and laymen with reference to the objectives of the schools and ways of achieving them, including the appropriate nature of continuing teacher education experiences. I am greatly concerned over the prospect that our shortsighted selfishness will take the ascendency over our enlightened self-interest so that the issue of governance, in the sense of a power struggle, may become self-destructive of the teacher education agencies in the universities and in the schools.

. . . . I think it is important to look at governance on a stratified basis, with one stratum representing a broad advisory base and the upper stratum being the groups where ultimate decisions must rest. At the foundation, I would think that the teacher education curriculum should be looked at together by three categories of personnel in the university and two categories in the schools. Within the university a teacher education council should include individuals in the general education area, the area of teaching specialties of prospective teachers, and the area of the professional dimension of teacher education. Only in this way can we view the selection and preparation of teachers in anything approaching a true perspective. It is equally important, at this juncture, to involve both instructional personnel and administrative personnel in the schools to help those of us in the university to become aware of some realities of which we are not always mindful. I see such a broad-based council, therefore, operating to provide the setting for the development and revision of teacher education programs. For good measure, I think it would leaven the loaf very well indeed to have student representation on such a broad-based council.

Harry N. Rivlin
Dean, School of Education at Lincoln Center
Fordham University

As part of Fordham's TTT program, members of school faculty and community organizations participated in appropriate faculty activities, and members of the university faculty worked in the schools and in community organizations. Our teacher education programs benefited so much from this close association and from having these non-university faculty people participate in curriculum building and policy making that we hope these relationships can be continued after TTT funding has ceased.

The students in each of our four graduate divisions elect three representatives [for a total of 12] who may attend all faculty meetings, divisional meetings, and committee meetings, with the right to speak and to vote. In addition, all students in the preservice program may participate fully in the bi-weekly meetings of the faculty who conduct this program.

3. How would such structural changes influence the quality and the characteristics of teacher education graduates?

Asa Hilliard
Dean, School of Education
California State University
San Francisco

I see no particular problem in the governance of teacher education. The issue is really how to gain input from all those areas which must be considered in the training of teachers. To call for input is not the same as to call for control. It is the ultimate responsibility of the School of Education to oversee the total program of teacher preparation. In carrying out this responsibility, professionals would be remiss if expert contributions to planning, execution, and evaluation were not received from teacher educators who work from the school districts across campus and within the School of Education. However, it would be a serious mistake to attempt to divide responsibility three ways. We have already seen the difficulty which occurred when we attempted to diffuse the responsibility for teacher education under the banner of all-University Teacher Education Programs. Following this reasoning, University-school district programs must be of the kind where expertise is utilized from both areas, directions are discussed by members of both areas but the ultimate responsibility must remain with institutions who are charged to prepare teachers. . . .

In view of the fact that I would have serious questions about fundamental changes in governance, as indicated above, it should be clear that I regard those changes as unfortunate. It is not governance in teacher education which creates the quality problem, it is the need to do a complete, top-to-bottom revamping of the curriculum in light of what we now know which should claim our full attention.

Luvern L. Cunningham
Dean, College of Education
The Ohio State University

. . . . I feel that improved communication between people in the field and the campus will yield good results, that program modifications growing out of recommendations emanating from practioners will be constructive and that universities utilizing this medium of idea exchange will impact more forcefully and helpfully on education in local school systems.

Samuel R. Keys
Dean, College of Education
Kansas State University

In responding to your question pertaining to changes in the structure, I might suggest that individuals from the arts and sciences area, particularly the areas of sociology and of poor and of urban areas, could some way or another be involved in teamwork with professors of education. Persons who are more recently informed about research and developments in fields of the behavioral sciences can influence professors as they work with teachers in the field. Certainly, having university professors in contact with live teenagers and elementary school youth will do much to assist in their retraining.

The only effect that I would see that this could have other than on governance would perhaps be in costs and logistics. Moving a portion of the training program out into the field presents many problems, not only for the faculty, but for students as well. Being removed from the library, from the university activities, and from advisors, oftentimes presents innumerable problems.

4. What other effects would you anticipate from such change in governance?

Roy Forbes
Director, Louisville Urban Education Center
Kentucky

An advise and consent committee composed of representatives from schools and community educational organizations (e.g., neighborhood school boards) should be established. They would have the responsibility to review and approve new training programs. The State Department of Education and the KEA [Kentucky Education Association, affiliate of NEA] would serve as a resource of the committee.

These changes would provide a first step toward the accountability of persons responsible for training programs to the two levels of consumers of the service, i.e., teachers and the public.

Donald J. McCarty
Dean, School of Education
University of Wisconsin–Madison

. . . . I think governance mechanisms will remain pretty much the way they are now and that minor improvements will be made but that no drastic shift is likely or even wanted by the vast populace. The Gallup polls show that, in general, the public likes the schools. Why should there be much change then?

Luvern L. Cunningham
Dean, College of Education
The Ohio State University

> . . . these relationships will add new time burdens in the field as well as persons on campus. There will be more meetings, more report preparation, more weight on already overburdened management and delivery capabilities. Despite these observations, improved ways to bring the campus and the field together can only lead to strength on both sides.

Benjamin Rosner
Dean, Teacher Education
The City University of New York

> It is likely that the participation of school systems and professional teacher organizations in the governance of teacher education will have the effect of professionalizing undergraduate teacher education programs to a far greater degree than presently exists. In those situations where departments of education are part of a college of liberal arts and sciences, it would tend to subject the total undergraduate curriculum to the external influence of teacher organizations and school systems. This arrangement might then present difficulties for arts and science faculties who do not feel the need to respond to the professional demands of school personnel as much as faculties in departments of education.

Ensuing from these various responses to the questionnaire is the consensus that governance and program are vitally interconnected, especially when changes in either entity are contemplated. A comprehensive view of the interdependence between governance and program is provided in the following summary statement from George Denemark, Dean of the College of Education at the University of Kentucky:

> Resolution of the current controversy regarding its governance is the central issue confronting teacher education today. Equitable roles for schools, colleges, communities, the organized profession, and state and national governmental agencies must be

established. Without clarification of the roles appropriate to each and without effecting a balance among them which reflects their unique potential contributions, the future of teacher education is bleak. The present ambiguities and conflicts regarding governance, if unresolved, are likely to result in the demise of higher education as a significant force in influencing the nature of teacher education. Should the control of teacher education fall solely into the hands of employing school systems or to the organized teaching profession, preparation dimensions concerned with diagnostic and analytical functions and with the concept of the teacher-scholar would likely be neglected and wither away.

Any fair-minded observer of the past and the present teacher education scene would concede that college teacher educators have devoted insufficient attention to insuring effective cooperation of representatives of school systems and the organized profession. But recognizing that serious shortcoming does not provide a basis for substituting a new imbalance for the old one. We cannot condone the elimination of higher education from teacher education governance as a reaction to its historic neglect of the other partners concerned with the nature and quality of teacher education.

The problem of governance of teacher education, however, cannot be understood adequately unless we have some appreciation of the uniquely demanding role expected of schools or colleges of education. In their role as liaison agents between schools on the one hand and academic colleagues within the university on the other, college teacher educators often find themselves frustrated by their inability to meet the expectations of either element. Pressured by university colleagues to accept a conventional academic view of their role, which emphasizes basic scholarship while keeping school and community commitments to a minimum, they are at the same time criticized by school systems for providing insufficient help on the grinding problems of slums and suburbs, of maintaining discipline in a growingly permissive culture with weakening family ties, and of coping with serious reading disabilities and other individual needs in a mass educational system.

The view that teacher education is currently controlled by colleges of education is a distortion of reality. Most colleges and universities are dominated by arts and sciences departments and tend to attach low status to programs and personnel in teacher preparation. As a consequence, James Stone has described teacher education as a "stepchild," unwanted by the colleges, and Hobert Burns has urged that we "consider transferring much of the responsibility from colleges and universities to the public schools." . . . since "many colleges, perhaps even most, have not taken seriously the obligation to teacher education. . . ." The lack of effective influence in the power structure of higher education as it relates to program decisions and the allocation of resources has kept colleges of education from responding effectively to changing preparation needs of the school systems and the profession they seek to serve.

Without fundamental changes in the governance structure for teacher education, higher education is likely to continue to respond inadequately to changing needs in teacher preparation. But substitution of school system or teacher organization control for domination by higher education is likely to worsen rather than improve the situation. In my opinion what is needed is a new governance structure which provides for shared or cooperative involvement in teacher education by colleges and universities, school systems, and the organized profession, with provision for participation of citizen and college student representatives as well. If such a plan is to work, both universities and school systems will have to commit themselves to giving up some authority to such a governing body. Since the body would likely deal with a broad range of issues related to teacher education, certification, accreditation, and professional standards, it is likely that a different mix or proportion of representation from the various constituencies would be needed for the different decision making areas. For example, classroom teacher involvement in issues relating to performance standards in the classroom would likely be greater than it would be in cases involving the accreditation of college or university programs of teacher preparation.

The concept of voluntary control over accreditation and professional standards is in my judgment an important one to preserve. Governance structures which would increase the control exercised by the federal or state governments through the granting or withholding of funds would seem to be antithetical to this view and should, therefore, be resisted.

I would expect that the changes in governance suggested above would influence significantly the quality and characteristics of teacher education graduates. If an effective, cooperative governance structure could be established for teacher preparation, the mix between theory and practice or contextual and applicative knowledge would likely be greatly improved. The influence of community, school system, and teacher involvement in planning teacher education programs would likely result in greater emphasis upon performance and operational skill in the tasks of the teacher. They would likely also produce an increased emphasis upon what the graduate of a program can *do* in contrast to what courses or which program he completed. The structure could also have a healthy influence in terms of more effective integration of preservice and in-service or continuing education of teachers. Presently the false separation of these weakens both, for each is frequently planned and conducted without reference to the other. If both could be seen as essential parts of the continuum of professional preparation, greater efficiency would result at both preservice and continuing education levels.

If a genuinely effective mechanism for cooperative decision making in teacher education were established, it would greatly enhance the status of teacher education and increase the allocation of resources devoted to it. At present, college-based teacher education gets little endorsement from either teacher organizations or employing school officials. As a consequence, when priority decisions are contemplated by university-wide administrators, there is often very little support from outside the university for the needs of the college of education. If, through a modified governance structure, colleges of education could generate greater support from school systems and teacher organizations, their position within the university structure would be strengthened materially. That, in turn, could permit the college of education to propose and implement more imaginative, flexible programs adapted to changing field needs. Innovative practices, such as increased field based study, performance based and modularized programs, pass-fail grading coupled with evaluative anecdotal statements, etc., would likely be increased. Joint appointments between school systems and colleges and universities would also likely increase. Greater differentiation of mission of particular institutional teacher education programs might also occur. Rather than every college or university attempting to offer comprehensive programs covering all fields, all specialities and all teaching environments, institutions influenced by community and school system representatives in a particular region might focus their programs on service to that region.

Let me conclude where I began by expressing the conviction that unless the ambiguities regarding governance of teacher education are resolved and mechanisms are created for the equitable involvement of school systems and the teaching profession along with higher education, teacher education will never generate the public confidence and support it requires.

Toward the Re-Vision of Governance, Programs, and Models

It is not our purpose to specify a particular model of governance that *should* be utilized by all teacher education programs. Not every program could benefit from the same kinds and styles of administrative inputs. Rather, the models developed here are intended to provide a set of alternatives which can be used in a variety of ways. There are many possible futures for our schools, and therefore, many possible teacher education models. The future structures of our society will to a great extent determine the forms of interactions among its parts.

If there was a major element of agreement among those who contributed ideas to this project, it was that governance, and other elements, such as credentialling and accreditation, were intimately interwoven with the *program elements* of teacher education. Thus, one cannot talk about administrative structures for teacher education in isolation from the courses, experiences, and objectives intended for the students progressing through these programs.

Once *governance* and *program* are recognized as interdependent, then the contributions of each group desiring participation in any of the aspects of governing, planning, and evaluating programs will have to be gauged in terms of the contributions' direct applicability to the program. This assumption may be seen as subverting the intent to provide greater inputs from groups which traditionally have been excluded from participation in such governance; however, that is not the case at all. Instead, we simply mean to emphasize that the standard for any group's participation in governance should be determined by the extent to which the program can be meaningfully influenced by that participation.

Another major assumption which must be made is that teachers should be prepared by means of a systematic program. The major responsibility for the operational tasks of educating children should not reside with persons who are untrained in those academic disciplines which have a bearing on how children learn and on human (and societal) growth and development. We refer here to the educational *practitioner*—not to governance or accountability. Resources and personnel from the community are, of course, a rich source of supplementary help for the teacher. But to give the *major* teaching responsibility to staff members whose credentials to teach are based on non-educational skills obviates the need for a teacher training program—and that leaves nothing to govern.

One further point which needs to be made is that this discussion deals solely with the governance of teacher education programs. It is concerned with, but not addressing itself to, the governance of the schools, of the universities, or even of the Colleges of Education. It does address itself to how these and other groups relate to and control the programs of teacher education. Once this distinction is made, it is helpful to separate out the influence each group has on the child, on the classroom teacher, and on the prospective teacher. Such analyses of these influences help to clarify the type and the extent of changes that can be brought about in what happens to children in an educational program (public school or otherwise) by manipulating only the teacher education program. A clearer conception of the differential influences which the various groups can have on the in-school experiences of children is illustrated on the next two pages.

DIFFERENTIAL DIRECT INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS GROUPS IN SITUATIONS AFFECTING THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

	College of Education	College of Arts & Scs.	School System	Community	Teacher Organizations	State Department
School Curriculum	Moderate	Moderate	High	Low	Low	High
Extracurricular Activities (i.e., Scouts, Little League Bank, Choir, "Y," etc.)	Low	Low	High	High	Low	Low
Teachers' Skills	High	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Low	Moderate
Teachers' Knowledge Base	Moderate	High	Low	Low	Low	Moderate
Teachers' Values and Attitudes	High	High	Moderate	Low	Moderate	Low
Milieu of School	Low	Low	High	Low	Moderate	Low

Milieu of Community	Low	Low	Low	High	Low	Low
Families' Support of Educational Goals	Low	Low	Moderate	High	Low	Low
School Finance	Low	Low	High	Moderate	Low	High
Hiring of Teachers	Low	Low	High	Low	Low	Low
Credentialling	High	Low	Low	Low	Low	High
Teachers' Working Conditions	Low	Low	High	Low	High	Low

The importance of program considerations has been stressed frequently so far, and a conceptual framework for program determination would be helpful. A further step is then to relate the appropriate influence group to the program elements. The first component in the design of a teacher education program model is the *setting* in which the teacher is expected to function (cultural, social, physical, etc.). Community groups, school systems, and teacher organizations can have extensive inputs relating to these factors. The difficulty of the program is the inability to predict precisely where graduates of the program will finally be teaching. To prepare some one for a very specific setting may become a distinct hindrance to that person if he eventually ends up teaching in a setting which is drastically different from that for which he was prepared. Yet, by keeping the program too general, the graduate may not be provided with the necessary skills for work with certain subcultures.

A second component of a teacher education program is the *desired impact* the teacher is expected to have on the children, on the community, and indirectly on the society in general. Program implications will vary with the expected outcomes–children should know basic knowledge, or children should be individualistic and creative, or teachers should be change agents in the community.

A third component is the desired *functional style* of the teacher. Should the teacher be prepared to be a lecturer, a discussion leader, a diagnostician, a manager of learning experiences, or what? Innovative roles may be developed by college or school systems, but these may be resisted in some cases by parents, even by some teachers themselves.

A fourth component is composed of the *attitudes, values,* and *philosophical perspectives* which are desirable for functioning optimally as a teacher in a multi-cultural setting. Universities can make substantial contributions in these areas, but research suggests that to date there has been very little shifting in major values of college students during their undergraduate career. Community influence can also be a positive factor in adding experiences and understandings of other cultures. However, there can be danger in this influence, if the community point of view happens to be a conservative, mainstream posture.

The fifth component deals with the *skills* and *techniques* required to function as a teacher in the modes mentioned above (instructional methodology, diagnostic skills, management skills, etc.). Colleges can make vital inputs to this, and school systems and cooperating classroom teachers can provide some of the practical know-how experience.

A sixth component of the model involves the desired *knowledge base* for teachers functioning at the various grade levels and in the various subject areas. Inputs are possible and relevant here from all the agencies. State departments of education are concerned at the certification level (and its implications for quality instruction), as well as at the school level in terms of basic subject matter achievement. Colleges of Arts and Sciences are already very much involved with providing teachers with their subject matter knowledge-base, and this strong interest would logically continue. Parents often measure the quality of a school informally by the headway their children make in the traditional subjects. This represents an area of strong parental concern, but parents themselves must rely on the universities to do most of the actual training in these areas.

The seventh component involves the specific *strategies* for developing in the prospective teacher the necessary techniques, skills, knowledge, and attitudes for functioning in the various modes derived from the components considered above. This is where the ideas and desires of the several interest groups must be converted into realistic educational activities, in order to produce teachers who will actually perform in ways which have been determined to be particularly desirable. This is where the concept of inter-systemic planning can have the greatest impact. It is here that all of the previously mentioned model components–representing inputs from and cooperation among the various groups and systems–are synthesized into training activities. Therefore, the training configuration will be composed of these seven components: cultural factors, desired impact and role of teacher, functional style of teacher, appropriate teacher attitudes and values, the necessary knowledge base, and required technical skills. The ingredients of these components can be determined by a variety of inter-systemic planning models. The discussions to follow try to outline some ways of promoting this cooperation.

One additional point of clarification is needed before considering actual governance models. The assumption has been that teachers would be trained in some kind of systematic program. Whatever form such a program may take, students will need to progress through various phases before finally function as a teacher in the modes mentioned above (instructional methodology, diagnostic skills, management skills, etc.). Colleges can make vital inputs to this, and school systems and cooperating classroom teachers can provide some of the practical know-how experience.

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One additional point of clarification is needed before considering actual governance models. The assumption has been that teachers would be trained in some kind of systematic program. Whatever form such a program may take, students will need to progress through various phases before finally arriving at the stage of employability as a teacher. A model developed by Stilwell and Gyuro (1971) depicts these phases and the activities to be accomplished in each phase.

In the "admission" phase, the prospective students apply to the program, their credentials are evaluated, and a decision about their admissability is made. Several groups can have meaningful input to this selection process, although those who will work with the student most closely–faculty, teachers, school systems–probably have the greatest justification for participation at this point. A number of unresolved problems complicate this step immensely, and those are the difficulties of developing criteria for selection which have a real impact on the type of teacher to be produced. Some factors thought to be important, such as personality and attitude variables, are difficult to assess. In addition, there is resistance by some groups to the use of such factors in selection. In general, a broad-based group should participate in the development of *admission criteria.*

The second phase is composed of the actual "program" experiences. Here the students receive their training; their progress is evaluated; and they move on to subsequent courses or stages of training. Participation at this stage is logically restricted to those who work directly with the students. However, in the more experience-based programs, parents and other community agencies will want to take part in some planning, instruction, and evaluation.

The "graduation" phase is characterized by a review of the students' performance and an evaluation to determine whether these performances meet predetermined standards. This phase represents a closure on the program. Again, those people who worked closely with the students–faculty, teachers, and school systems–could be meaningfully involved in this determination.

The last phase involves "certification." This process has traditionally been a cooperative one between colleges of education and state departments. Alternative methods of certification are being considered by numerous groups. These range from nationally-determined patterns to the analyses of competencies by local schools and communities. In general, the students' competencies–direct or implied–are evaluated, and a determination is made whether or not they are to be certified as teachers. Again, the key issue is the development of *criteria* on which to make the judgments. The criteria for certification will, of course, have profound implications on the nature and the content of teacher education programs. Participation of various groups in this activity seems justified. However, if a system of local certification is adopted, the resulting variety of required competencies and acceptable means of demonstrating these may make it almost impossible for any one program of training to satisfy many local systems.

With this clarification of some of the possible areas of cooperative input into programs, it is appropriate to move closer to the roles which various groups might play in the governance process. To better understand this, it is helpful to look at some of the practices and pressures which might be important to each group. We have chosen to label this a group's "typical functioning profile," and it is simply an attempt to list *some* of the typical ways each particular group is likely to react concerning some of the issues regarding the training of teachers. This is not an attempt to provide an exhaustive list of possible behaviors. It does, however, suggest an approximation of the influences of each group on program decisions, and it further suggests some of the directions the program might take, based on a specific mix of influences. Many of the profile elements and this method of analysis are based on a paper by Martin Haberman (1973). By increasing or decreasing the intensity of involvement and participation of each group, it is possible to obtain at least a rough prediction of the functioning profile of the total interactive process of these groups:

TYPICAL FUNCTIONING PROFILES OF ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

	Typical Functioning Profile
College of Education	1. Emphasis on theory 2. Orientation to "courses" and "credits" 3. Generally high regard for students' freedom and individuality 4. Perceive teacher preparation as global rather than aimed at a particular school, community, culture, or socio-economic group

Typical Functioning Profile

College of Arts & Sciences

1. Specific academic requirements
2. Professional education course requirements reduced to state minimums
3. Academic departments dealing directly with state departments relative to certification
4. Student selection based on traditional criteria such as grades and certain required courses
5. Little responsiveness to quotas or needs for particular kinds of teachers
6. Little responsiveness to classroom teachers, administrators, community, or children
7. Field experiences not supervised by college faculty; this would be done by teaching assistants and public school personnel
8. Little emphasis on performance based objectives
9. Extensive program diversity in the academic disciplines
10. Program development centered at the graduate level

Typical Functioning Profile

State Department

1. Emphasis on statutory requirements for program and certification
2. De-emphasis of "approved program" system of certification
3. Sensitivity to educational and personnel needs throughout the state
4. Student selection based on statewide needs

5. Preference for behavioral competencies for certification

6. Greater responsiveness to public school administrators than to teachers' organizations

7. Concern with fiscal and learning accountability

Community

Typical Functioning Profile

1. Emphasis on fundamental skills and basic areas of knowledge

2. Emphasis on the value system of the particular neighborhood or community where they are employed

3. Desire for children to be making "normal" progress in school

4. Intolerance of radical or deviant thinkers

5. Desire to be involved in decisions on staffing their particular school building, requirements for certification, and tenure

6. Support a traditional viewpoint on curriculum matters and would probably not favor a great deal of innovation

7. Tend to think in terms of a particular school building rather than the total school system or the larger issues of the teaching profession

Local School System

Typical Functioning Profile

1. Tend to be responsive to the parents and community

2. Strong emphasis on methods, techniques, and instructional systems utilized by the school district

3. Support performance-based teacher education
4. Will seek human relations skills in teachers
5. Avoidance of radical or deviant thinkers
6. Emphasis on "practical" aspects of teacher education

Teachers' Organizations

Typical Functioning Profile

1. Interest in teacher education programs focused on student teaching portion
2. Emphasis on specific techniques for dealing with disruptive pupils, teaching reading, etc.
3. Support offering of many education classes in the schools
4. Greater utilization of public school teachers as instructors in the teacher education programs
5. Greater control of selection of students for student teaching
6. Restrict admission to teacher education in those areas where jobs are scarce
7. Greater emphasis in training for getting along with parents and students from a variety of cultural backgrounds
8. Train students to work in and support teachers' organizations
9. Transform student teaching into an apprenticeship situation
10. Intolerance of radical or deviant thinkers
11. Deemphasize general education and overspecialization in academic areas
12. Preference for college courses that relate directly to practice
13. Greater emphasis on on-the-job training, especially techniques and procedures as practiced in local school systems

Some actual models for facilitating this interaction can now be considered. Raymond S. Moore (1967), in talking about higher education consortia, worked out a nomenclature for the various arrangements of implementing and managing interinstitutional cooperation. These labels can be used here, because they describe most of the possible ways in which the various groups can interact for governance purposes.

The first arrangement is the "single bilateral." This is the simplest form of interaction and occurs between two entities. Program and/or governance cooperation could occur in this case between any two units—a college of education and a school, or a school system, or the state department, or the college of arts and sciences, etc. The interactions are direct, and no intermediary organization is set up to operate the arrangement.

A second arrangement is the "fraternal bilateral," which is similar to the single bilateral except that one unit is in a cooperative arrangement with *several* others. Here also, several groups can be represented—a college of education could have arrangements with several schools or school systems. This particular arrangement does not lend itself to involving units, such as the community, that do not offer program elements. Cooperation here tends to be directly between two units at a time and not interactive among all the units.

A third arrangement is the "multilateral—simple and centered." In this case several units co-operate on a particular program, with one of the units serving as the administrative center for managing the program. Present teacher education programs function most often on this system, with schools, school systems, and state departments forming the satellite units, while the central unit is the College of Education.

A similar arrangement is called "multilateral—simple and dispersed." Such a system is useful for operating a number of different programs simultaneously, with program "centers" being located in several units. There tends to be interaction among all of the units in this arrangement. It may be a particularly useful structure for experimentation and innovation, allowing for a variety of programs to function with a variety of participants. "Administrative" centers could be located in different places, depending upon the nature of the program.

The "multilateral–complex and centered" arrangement involves the establishment of a new and separate administrative entity for the purpose of administering particular programs. The Urban Education Center in Louisville–established and operated jointly by the Louisville Public School System, the University of Louisville, and the University of Kentucky–is an example of this arrangement. The overall autonomy of the participants can be maintained, while jurisdiction for particular programs can be placed totally under the central agency. For this structure, arrangements for representation must be planned by the participants. These consortium centers usually have a separate staff to operate the center and to manage the programs. The staff members, in turn, are responsible to a governing board composed of representatives from member organizations.

The "multilateral–complex and dispersed" arrangement is similar to the one mentioned above, but the *separate* administrative centers are located at *several* units. Thus, a variety of programs can be operated through different administrative structures which are located in an appropriate way with only one of the participants. This particular arrangement is unrealistic for teacher education in the sense that one school system would not normally be exercising jurisdiction over programs in other school systems. However, educational cooperatives have in some cases utilized such intersystem administration with very specific programs.

The "center" arrangement is described here as a service agency rather than as an administering structure. Such a center is established to provide a service to the participants, and this could cover such activities as research, computer services, student teaching supervision, and graduate residence centers. To the extent that such a center obtains greater program jurisdiction and exerts governance pressures back on the participants, it becomes more like the previously mentioned "multilateral–complex and centered" arrangement.

The most complex arrangement is called a "constellation of consortia." This involves the establishment of a separate, central administrative structure by two or more "multilateral–complex and centered" organizations. If a number of universities, school systems, and other groups have formed consortia to administer teacher education programs, then a statewide or regional confederation of these groups would be accomplished through this structure.

A synthesis of the governance model discussions suggests that a number of elements can be integrated and viewed now as a single arrangement. Basically, the model would include interaction of the participating groups/systems with the program components and program phases. Local conditions and needs will determine: (1) which groups will participate, (2) to what extent each will participate at the various phases, (3) through which structures each will participate, and (4) what the program components and phases will look like as a result of this interaction. The variables, or the options, for the local planners become: (1) the participating groups, (2) the governance structure, (3) the nature of participation and representation, (4) the program components, and (5) the degree of involvement by each group relative to each program component and phase. The latter can be adjusted hypothetically by applying the "typical functioning profile" for each group and analyzing the interactive effect produced by adjusting the relative governance strength for each group. In the model, for a particular program phase decision, one group may have a great deal of involvement, other groups may have some involvement, and several groups may not be involved at all. Participation by each group will vary according to the program component or phase under consideration.

This approach has not resulted in a single "best" model that can be picked up and utilized by all teacher education programs across the nation. Instead, the models presented here are meant to illustrate a range of alternatives which could be used by local planners for arriving at improved teacher education programs. The mix of participants will surely differ from place to place, and the arrangements for governance will vary with the needs and the demands of the individual groups.

In general, we chose an inter-systemic approach rather than advocating the creation of a new super-system to encompass all things related to teacher education. The maintenance of a pluralistic structure can probably provide a healthier setting for education and an improved training program for teachers. Each group can make a valuable contribution, and the trick will be to arrange the proper orchestration of the participants to maximize their involvement at the appropriate points and to achieve the desired programmatic results.

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With teachers and within classrooms the lives of children are lived. In these lives the aspirations of parents are realized, and the health and welfare of the community are fostered. Lives, aspirations, community health and welfare, good thoughts and good intentions are the human energies of the national education system. When these energies are allowed to interact, and when their interaction is planned and promoted by educators and administrators in the governance of teacher education programs, a new coherence can emerge, a coherence which unites living and learning and the flow of experiences in any one life with the lives of others. When this new coherence is actively, creatively, and imaginatively developed as a cooperative, lively venture, the lives of children will become the focus of educational planning and programming; the lives of children will become *a part of* the national education system, rather than *apart from* it. Toward this goal all efforts for the re-vision and the reformulation of the governance of teacher education should be directed.

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THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION AND LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL POLICY*

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In order to provide a backdrop to this discussion of some of the ways legal developments may impact on the future of education, I wish to provide some exemplary statements of the ideologies that have motivated our thinking about education. The first statement appears in a work written in 1932 and entitled *Rural Sociology: The Farm Family Institution*; while it does not bear directly on education, its educational implications are fairly obvious:

> Backward communities and groups, rural and urban, need not be made more happy; they need rather, for the sake of progress, to be freed from their backward condition. In an ideal society, there would be no backward communities. The condition of backwardness consists essentially in narrowness of outlook due to a limited range of suggestions, brought about, in turn, by a high degree of isolation from the general current of human thought. A legitimate and constructive aim of social reform is to break through such walls of isolation, wherever they may be found, carrying to those within as large a fund of ideas as may be available. This will not in general increase happiness, but it will bring an increase in richness of human experience. . . . From the standpoint of the larger society, the freeing of backward groups from their backwardness results in an increase of efficiency through bringing more individuals into effective service of the whole. From the standpoint of the individual who experiences

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> this change, it means a more abundant life, which he may or may not think of as involving a net increase of happiness.[1]

The second exemplary statement is explicitly about education and provided by Alan Cartter:

> As higher education continues to expand, a large proportion of the students who come to us are without the family and community background which would provide them with intellectual curiosity and a strong moral sense. We are expected to give them a purpose to live for and standards to live by, to encourage those attributes of being which are associated with the cultured gentleman. . . .[2]

The final exemplary statement occurs in a 1936 court opinion:

> . . . we are self-governing people, and an education prepares the boys and girls for the duties and obligations of citizenship. Neither the schools nor the state can carry on without rules or laws regulating the conduct of the student or citizen, and those who are taught obedience to the rules and regulations of the school will be less apt to violate the laws of the state.[3]

The educational ideologies expressed in these three statements have informed the actions of those responsible for educational policy-making in the United States. Generically, these ideologies might be regarded as variants of the "melting pot" ideology that has increasingly come under attack by a variety of persons. My purpose here is to outline several legal grounds on which this ideology has been and will be challenged and to spell out some of the implications of successful challenges. Certainly, the "melting pot" ideology provided some of the impetus in all the states (except Mississippi), finding it in the state's interest to both compel children to attend school and prevent them from working. At the same time, through the exercise of its police powers, each of the states has developed a system for selecting and licensing those entrusted with the education of the state's young. There arises out of these interrelated state actions, a complex web of issues. In other instances, the state has sought at least in theory to protect the public interest through occupational and professional licensing. But in no other situation besides education, other than legal declaration of insanity or commission of a crime, is an individual compelled to use the services of one or more specific licensed practitioners. Short of extraordinary circumstances or an unprecedented and successful *habeas corpus* action, every child must attend school. One would consequently expect that the process for designating and licensing of teachers would be extremely rigorous. Not only is protection of the public interest at stake. There is also at stake a state inter[illegible] so powerful and necessary as to justify compelling an individual to use the services of a particular practitioner, or group of practitioners.

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[1] Roy H. Holmes, *Rural Sociology: The Farm Family Institution* (New York: 1932).

[2] "University Teaching and Excellence," *Improving College Teaching*, ed. Calvin B. T. Lee (Washington, D.C.: 1967), p. 160.

[3] *Byrd v. Begley*, 90 S.W. 2d. 371 (1936).

Certification Must Protect Public Interest

The state's exercise of its police power in licensing teachers is "legitimate, moral, and rational, only to the extent that teacher certification protects and promotes some demonstrably legitimate public interest of the people for whose welfare and benefit state accredited schools are established."[4] More specifically, one would expect that in protecting and promoting that interest, the licensing of teachers would be based on demonstrated competency, both general competency and competency to assist in the intellectual, emotional, and/or vocational growth and development of a child in a specific neighborhood and culture; one would not expect that the state would seek to protect its interest by relying on mere completion of an approved program of training. Given the overriding interest of the state in educating its citizens, one would expect, in short, that the licensing of those undertaking that task would display the character of the state's interest. Minimally, one would expect the following:

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[4] "Basic Legal Issues in New York State on Teacher Certification," (Study Commission: East Coast Network, September, 1973).

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[4] "Basic Legal Issues in New York State on Teacher Certification," (Study Commission: East Coast Network, September, 1973).

(1) That there would exist rather detailed descriptions of what the job of teaching constitutes, not highly generalized descriptions, but institutionally and job specific descriptions.

(2) That the assessment of candidates for licensing would be conducted in terms of just job descriptions.

(3) That the assessment of educational personnel would be recurrent and conducted in terms of the original, or evolving, job descriptions.

As we all know, this is not universally nor even typically the case. The author is aware of no instances in which a school system has prepared adequate job descriptions. At best, present teacher licensing procedures can claim something approaching content validity, the sort of validity resulting from *subjective* comparison between prior education and experience (and in some instances test results) and a specific job, the nature of which, as I have indicated, is either generally unknown or largely undescribed.

It is in this context that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its subsequent amendment becomes important and provides one of the bases for challenging the "melting pot" ideology that has motivated our general educational policies, including teacher credentialling. Title VII originally offered protection to several groups from various forms of discriminatory employment practices in private enterprise, and, then, by amendment, provided the same protections from discriminatory practices of state and local governmental agencies, including schools and colleges. As the result of litigation to seek enforcement of Title VII, the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* held that procedures in assessing prospective employees or present employees for promotion must be *neutral* with respect to factors such as test scores and educational background, *except* when the results of tests or educational background have a manifest relationship to performance on the job.[5]

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[5] *Griggs v. Duke Power Company,* 401 U.S. 421 (1971).

Case Cites Equal Employment Guidelines

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Guidelines for Employee Selection, cited approvingly by the court in *Griggs*, provide three ways of validating selection criteria: content, construct, and predictive validation.[6] Essentially content validation involves the demonstration of a "rational" relationship between the criteria—as in the content of a test or an educational program—and the job. Construct validation proceeds in similar fashion in that a rational relationship is sought between personal attributes and the requirements of job. Predictive validation, the most preferred of the three forms of validation, involves demonstrating that the on-the-job performance of groups selected according to stated criteria is superior to that of randomly selected groups.

When one begins to look at the profession of teaching, at whatever level, it is almost immediately apparent that present employee selection procedures in educational institutions are likely to be suspect. The response of the American Council on Education is suggestive; its Task Force on Equal Employment in its recent mailing to constituent members indicates that it is preparing documentation intended for its members' use to show that the Ph.D. is a "*bona fide*" employment criteria.[7]

Recent and current Title VII litigation with respect to teacher licensing and employment practices has arisen against specific school boards and particularly against the use of allegedly non-job-related tests. It is important, however, to realize that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and the Supreme Court have so interpreted the legislative intent of Title VII as to include more than use of unvalidated tests. Sheila Huff, in an important but uncirculated paper on the educational implications of Title VII, notes that "*specific educational requirements* are also included in the [EEOC] definition of the term 'test.'"[8] The Supreme Court in *Griggs* is more explicit:

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[6] The EEOC Guidelines can be found in *Federal Register*, Vol. 35, No. 149, for August 1, 1970, pp. 12333ff, or in CFR, Title 29, Chapter XIV, Part 1607. See Michael J. Malbin, "Employment Report/Proposed federal guidelines on hiring could have far-reaching impact," *National Journal Reports*, Vol. 5, No. 39 (September 29, 1973), pp. 1429-34, on proposed revisions of guidelines.

[7] Memorandum from David Frohnmayer, dated November 8, 1972. "The Task Force hopes that its explanation of the Ph.D. in relation to faculty qualifications will serve as a helpful model for similar institutional statements on other degrees that a college or university may wish to claim as BFOQ's [*bona fide* occupational qualifications]."

> The facts of this case demonstrate the inadequacy of broad and general testing devices as well as the infirmity of using diplomas or degrees as fixed measures of capability . . . diplomas and tests are useful servants, but Congress has mandated the commonsense proposition that they are not to become masters of reality.[9]

And though recent litigation has named only individual employers as defendants, Benjamin Shimberg and his colleagues in *Occupational Licensing: Practices and Policies* anticipate that "the social and legal pressures that have heretofore been placed on private employers to use fair employment practices may now be expected to be exerted with equal or greater force on licensing boards and other public agencies."[10] Though the courts are likely to take the position that the EEOC guidelines "must not be interpreted or applied so rigidly as to cease functioning as a guide and become an absolute mandate or prescription," it is equally clear that overreliance on a minimal sort of content or construct validity in licensing and employing of teachers will be challenged, successfully I think.[11]

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[8] "The New Realism in Employment Practices: Implications for Education of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," Working Draft (Syracuse University Research Corporation: Educational Policy Research Center, 1973).

[9] The application of this principle in the case *Buckner v. Goodyear* [339F. Supp. 1108 (1972)] led the court to find that some required courses in an apprenticeship program were not job-related: "The Company has failed to persuade the court that English compositon and Principles of Economics are sufficiently related to the performance of various craft jobs to require their successful completion. . . . Even with such corrections [deletion of the requirements] . . . it is not clear that . . . the other academic courses are necessary to the training of potential craftsmen. Helpful and desirable, yes; necessary, perhaps not." (Any attempt to construe the meaning of this passage should, however, heed footnote 19 in the opinion.)

[10] Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 202.

[11] *U.S. v. Georgia Power Company*, U.S. Court of Appeals, February 14, 1973; quoted from Huff's paper cited in footnote 8 above.

Licensing, Hiring, Promotion Being Reshaped

What this suggests, then, is that the licensing, hiring, and promotion of educational personnel will be considerably reshaped, either voluntarily or under court order. There are, of course, several efforts to create new sorts of programs preparing educational personnel and new ways of assessing candidates for licensure. Generally, these are known as "competency" or "performance" based systems. These systems, however, may not be the adequate solution that some of their advocates claim. William O. Robinson's commentary on the paper, *The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education,* produced by the Committee on National Priorities in Education, is instructive. He argues that the preferred and more rigorous criterion-referenced or predictive validation of teacher education and licensing requires establishing validity not only in terms of the *effects* of a teacher education *program* on the competencies of a *prospective teacher* but in terms of the effects of the teacher prepared on student achievement and well being.[12] Robinson proposes a two prong test of the validity of teacher licensing practices: (1) the general competence of the candidate in some field or area and (2) the effect of the teacher on the student. The latter test is of particular interest since what it requires is development of a principle which I will label "a principle of benign effect."

In formulating such a principle I would like to begin by calling attention to a policy statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Conference on College Composition and Communication in the Spring of 1972:

> We affirm the student's right to his own language–the dialect of his nurture in which he finds his identity and style. Any claim that only one dialect is acceptable should be viewed as an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another, not as either true or sound advice to speakers and writers, nor as moral advice to human beings. A nation which is proud of its diverse heritage and of its cultural and racial variety ought to preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly the need for

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[12] "The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education: Views of a Civil Rights Lawyer" (unpublished paper).

> teachers to have such training as will enable them to support this goal of diversity and this right of the student to his own language.[13]

This statement may serve to initiate our consideration of what a "principle of benign effect" might look like, particularly since it implicitly formulates a principle of neutrality with respect to language. The statement calls upon teachers, administrators, and others not to deny to students their language nor to disparage the language or dialect of any student.

Chinese Students Ask for Extra Instruction

In this context, the recent Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* is helpful. In this case, the petitioners, who were representative of 1800 other non-English-speaking Chinese in San Francisco sought to require the State of California and the San Francisco Unified School District to provide instruction permitting them to comprehend and benefit from classes taught exclusively in the English language.[14] The lower court had held that "these Chinese-speaking students—by receiving the same education made available upon the same terms and conditions to the other tens of thousands of students in . . . the District—are legally receiving all their rights to an education and to equal educational opportunities." Though it avoided constitutional questions, the Supreme Court overruled the lower court and held that the State and the San Francisco schools must provide the kind of instruction sought by the petitioners.

This decision appears to substantially increase the significance of an earlier Texas district court memorandum opinion. In the aftermath of a decision forcing desegregation of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District in Texas, Judge William Wayne Justice provided a memorandum clarifying the earlier court order. Justice acknowledges being particularly impressed by the testimony of Jose Cardenas regarding "cultural incompatibilities" which prevent Mexican-American students from generally being able to "benefit from an educational program designed primarily to meet the needs of so-called Anglo-Americans." Subsequently, Justice wrote: "under the circumstances here . . . little could be more clear to the court than the need . . . for special educational consideration to be given to the Mexican-American students in assisting them in adjusting to those parts of their new school environment which present a cultural and linguistic shock. Equally clear, however, is the need to avoid creation of a stigma of inferiority as to 'the badges and indicia of slavery' spoken of in *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education.* To avoid this result, the Anglo-American students too must be called upon to learn to adjust to their different linguistic and cultural attributes."[15]

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[13] *College Composition and Communication*, October, 1972.

[14] *Lau v. Nichols*, 42 L.W. 4165, U.S., January 22, 1974.

Both the decision in *Lau* and the Texas opinion have immediate, and I think, clear consequences for the certification and employment of teachers. The consequences are that these findings together with the application of the EEOC guidelines (and a modicum of reason) require that in the schools attended by these students whose linguistic and cultural attributes are not those of the dominant cultures, the teachers have to be fluent in the relevant non-English language(s), and probably be bearers of the students' culture. I cannot conceive how a teacher can have a benign effect on a student's achievement and well-being if he or she does not speak the only language possessed by the child. The significance of these cases and of their implications for the licensing and employment of educational personnel is not limited to Texas or San Francisco. In 1968, it was estimated that some three million children were speaking non-English languages as their native tongue, that 75 to 80 per cent of all black children of school age command a southern rural or northern urban dialect of English, and that approximately six million American children "are taught by people who 'do not know their language.'"[16]

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[15] Memorandum opinion in *United States v. State of Texas* (U.S. District Court for Eastern Division of Texas, Tyler Division), Civil Action No. 5281; reprinted in *The University Can't Train Teachers* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission, 1971), pp. 53ff.

[16] *The Education Professions . . . 1968* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of HEW, USOE [OE-58032]), p. 42.

'Learning-By-Doing' Ideal for Amish

But languages and dialects do not exist in a vacuum. Attached to language and dialect are other cultural patterns—cognitive, affective, gestural, kinesic, and social. The question we must ask is whether our schools can continue to pursue a melting pot ideology and simultaneously enable teachers and other educational personnel to benignly affect students. In one case the Supreme Court has apparently ruled that the schools cannot. I refer to the momentous decision in *Wisconsin v. Yoder.* In this case, the court exempted Amish children from Wisconsin's state law compelling attendance at school after completion of the eighth grade. The decision was grounded rather narrowly—and I emphasize this—on the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment. What is intriguing for our purposes, however, is that the court found it necessary to balance state interest and individual rights and in doing so found the testimony of Donald A. Erickson persuasive:

> [He] . . . testified that the system of learning-by-doing was an "ideal system" of education in terms of preparing Amish children for life as adults in the Amish community. . . . As he put it, "these people aren't purporting to be learned people, and it seems to me that the self-sufficiency of the community is the best evidence I can point to. . . ."

Subsequently, the court writes:

> Insofar as the State's claim rests on the view that a brief additional period of formal education is imperative to enable the Amish to participate effectively and intelligently in our democratic process, it must fall. The Amish alternative to formal secondary school education has enabled them to function effectively in their day-to-day life under self-imposed limitations on relations with the world, and to survive and prosper in contemporary society as a separate, sharply identifiable, and highly sufficient community for more than 200 years. In itself, this is strong evidence that they are capable of fulfilling the social and political responsibilities of citizenship without compelled attendance beyond the eighth grade at the price of jeopardizing

their free exercise of religious belief.[17]

In this balancing of individual and community interest against that of the state, the court in effect recognizes an old distinction in the history of law, a distinction between customary law (consuetudines) and official law (leges).[18] That is, the court in this instance recognizes the primacy of the custom of the place over official law, since the state failed to show a rational and substantial interest.

This case adumbrates the possibility of litigation on the basis not only of the First Amendment, but on a number of other legal bases in attempts to secure recognition of customary over official law–recognition of one's right to his language and culture.

The recognition of custom (consuetudines) is not without precedent in the history of American legal action, even with respect to schools. I call your attention to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo effected between the United States and Mexico in 1848. In the original version of Article IX of the treaty, "all ecclesiastics and religious corporations or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry," will be protected from interference by the American government. The guarantee extends to "all temples, houses and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship as well as property destined to its support, or to that of schools, hospitals, and other foundations for charitable and beneficient purpose."

This guarantee is a companion to a provision providing that the Mexicans, so electing, shall be incorporated "into the Union of the United States and be admitted . . . to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Constitution."

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[17] *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205; reprinted, in part, in *Of Education and Human Community* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission, 1973).

[18] On the history of the distinction between custom and law, see Paul Vinogradoff, *Custom and Right*, particularly Chapter II (Oslo, 1925).

'Religious and Customary' Institutions Protected

Though the United States by amendment substituted a new text, a protocol indicates that the new text is to be so construed as to include "all the privileges and guarantees, civil, political and religious, which would have been possessed by the inhabitants of the ceded territory if [the original text] had been retained."[19] While this article does not guarantee a right to bilingualism in government or in education, it does entail two things: (1) it guarantees the neutral incorporation of Mexicans, so electing, into the body politic of the United States; by neutral incorporation I mean, incorporation without respect to language, traditions, or customs; and (2) in its provision regarding institutions of religion guarantees protection to the institutions supporting the religious and customary life of the people. Recognition of the differences in customs and traditions, as well as in language, repeatedly occurs in the controversies surrounding the granting of statehood to Arizona and New Mexico; one document of the period reads as follows:

> . . . the people of New Mexico . . . are not only different in race and largely in language, but have entirely different customs, laws, and ideals, and would have but little prospect of successful amalgamation.[20]

This, as an instance of issues arising out of the statehood controversy, suggests that the treaty, while not explicitly guaranteeing perpetuation and protection of Mexican language, customs and culture, took cognizance of the attributes of the people being incorporated into the United States.

It appears debatable whether the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guarantees protection of the Mexican-American's right to his language, culture, and customs. The Ninth Amendment to the federal Constitution, however, appears to provide substantial grounds for claiming such a right—grounds available to all U.S. citizens. This amendment provides that "the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." The meaning of this amendment has not been clearly established. We are somewhat at sea without the anchor of precedents, though that may not be all bad, given the history of the construction of the Fourteenth Amendment.[21] There appear to be essentially two ways of understanding this amendment. Without rehearsing the technical aspects of either, they can be summarized as follows:

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[19] *El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848* (Telefact Foundation in cooperation with the California State Department of Education, 1968), p. 108.

[20] "Protest Against Union of Arizona with New Mexico" in U.S. Senate Document 216, 59th Congress, 1st Session, February 12, 1906; quoted from *The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, Report III* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May, 1972), p. 77. See pp. 76ff for a "legal and historical backdrop." The authors of this report assert that "the treaty also guaranteed certain civil, political, and religious rights to the Spanish speaking colonists and *attempted to protect their culture and language*" (p. 76).

> (1) The first method of construing the Ninth Amendment is in essence to regard the amendment as one methodological in intent; it assumes that the first eight amendments are to be interpreted not as discrete and separate rights, but as constituting in themselves the source of law and to be interpreted so as to control and determine historically novel legal problems.[22]
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> (2) The amendment can be taken as securing the fundamental

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[21] The invocation of the Ninth Amendment to protect one's right to his own language is suggested by Edwin F. Klotz in his essay, "The Honest and the Glorious," in *El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848*, p. 24. Anthony Garvin, "Educational Policy Implications of a Legal Theory of Public vs. Private Benefits" [discussion draft] (Syracuse, N.Y.: Educational Policy Research Center, October, 1972), p. 16, notes that "the discovery of the Ninth Amendment by legal theorists could have an enormous impact on educational policy."

The following list of commentators on the Ninth Amendment is fairly exhaustive, though it does not include but one who wrote subsequent to *Griswold v. Connecticut*: Knowlton H. Kelsey, "The Ninth Amendment of the Federal Constitution," 11 *Indiana Law Journal* 309 (1936); Bennett Patterson, *The Forgotten Ninth Amendment* (Indianapolis, 1955); Mitchell Franklin, "The Relation of the Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments," 4 *Howard Law Journal* 170 (1958); Note, "The Uncertain Renaissance of the Ninth Amendment," 33 *University of Chicago Law Review* 814 (1966); Redlich, "Are There Certain Rights . . . Retained by the People?" 37 *N.Y.U. Law Review* 787 (1962); Mitchell Franklin, "The Ninth Amendment as a Civil Law Method and Implications for Republican Form of Government . . ." 40 *Tulane Law Review* 487 (1966).

[22] See last Franklin citation in Footnote 21.

and inherent rights of persons that are neither enumerated in the Constitution nor ceded to the federal government, or, with the addition of the Fourteenth Amendment, to the states. Further, one commentator has argued that the Ninth Amendment was intended to protect the unemunerated rights, not only as they have now appeared, but also as such rights may appear as history and the future unfold: "As the race becomes more evolved, and as the respect for the dignity of human life increases; as we become more intelligent and spiritual beings, then we shall learn more of the fundamental truths of human nature."[23]

While these methodological considerations are of great import and significance, it appears sufficient for now to note that both can be used to construct arguments securing for the individual a right to his own language (including here not only its verbal components but the associated kinesic and gestural systems) and to his own culture, except in instances in which the state can demonstrate an overriding and compelling interest. Interpreted in accord with the second method of interpretation, the Ninth Amendment recognizes the superiority of custom over official law, in some instances. Thus, in his opinion in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, Justice Goldberg interprets the Ninth Amendment so as to find protection of the general right of privacy, and particularly the privacy of marital intercourse. The sources of this right, according to the judge, are two: "the traditions and [collective] conscience" of the people and a theory of "fundamental personal rights":

> In determining which rights are fundamental, judges are not left at large to decide cases in the light of personal and private notions. Rather they must look to the "traditions and [collective] conscience of our people to determine whether a principle is so rooted [there] . . . as to be ranked as fundamental" . . . "Liberty also gains content from the emanations . . . of specific guarantees" and "from experience with the requirements of a free society."[24]

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[23] Patterson, *The Forgotten Ninth Amendment*, p. 51.

[24] *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 at 493.

Customs and Mores of Community Recognized

The significance of this interpretation of the Ninth Amendment lies in the recognition of the legal force of customs and traditions. Further, in a widely publicized and commented upon decision regarding obscenity, one of the tests is whether the material under consideration is obscene when "community standards" are applied; finding that a national standard is "hypothetical and unascertainable," the court resorts to recognition of the customs and mores of the community.[25] Thus, what is obscene in Sioux City may or may not be obscene in San Francisco, may or may not be obscene in Burlington, Vermont.

The line of argument I have incompletely developed supports an assertion of an individual's right to his culture. If a court can write that "the law should be construed in reference to the habits of business prevalent in the country at the time it was enacted" and that "the law was not made to create or shape the habits of business but to regulate them, as then known to exist"[26] certainly, with respect to language and culture, education laws must be so construed as to protect the linguistic and cultural habits of individuals and groups.

Thus, in the absence of a compelling state interest, the character of which I cannot imagine, the state must be *neutral* with respect to language and culture. Any other position requires development of arguments demonstrating the state's interest in depriving an individual (or a collection of individuals) of his most private habits, customs, and mores, an interest that could hardly be said to secure "benign effect." The concept of neutrality is not foreign to our traditions or judicial opinions. The implications of the "wholesome neutrality" of which the Court spoke in *Abington School District v. Schempp* are perhaps helpfully clarified in the following passage from Justice Clark's opinion:

> . . . it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of

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[25] *Miller v. California*, 93 Sup. Ct. 2607.

[26] Patterson, p. 56.

> religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. *Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religions when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment.*[27]

State Must Remain 'Neutral'

Here the court requires that the state be neutral with respect to one of the significant features of culture–religion; the state can neither promote nor disparage a particular religion. Applied to the language and cultural policy of the state, at least in its educational system, the principle enunciated here would go as follows: There is nothing to *prevent* the teaching of dialects, languages, or cultures other than those possessed by the student so long as they are presented *objectively* as instruments or understandings useful, and perhaps necessary, in social and political intercourse. The corollary to this principle is that no person can be differentially incorporated into the school's activities (or society in general) on the basis of "non-preferred" linguistic or cultural attributes; that is, his language or culture cannot be denied him nor disparaged, nor can he be denied benefits because of either. The implication of this argument for the licensing and certification of teachers is that it must be *neutral* with respect to language and culture, just as it is presently neutral with respect to religion.

But obviously, a requirement of neutrality cannot be imposed on a specific school in a particular community; schooling is in its essence a cultural activity. This observation, however, need not undermine an argument for "cultural neutrality" at the state level. Here the obscenity case referred to above is helpful. In that case, you will recall, the court invoked community standards to test whether materials are obscene. This suggests that variation in cultural patterns, including language and other customs, can be responded to at the local level. Or put another way: just as a national standard for obscenity is "hypothetical and unascertainable," so a national or state standard for the conduct and content of education is hypothetical and unascertainable. Our historic and illusory search for the universal master teacher and curriculum ought to be sufficient evidence to support such an observation. At the local level, as opposed to the state level, it is permissive, indeed obligatory, that the schools be responsive to the personhood of the student and to community standards—its traditions, collective conscience, mores, and habits. Indeed without being responsive to the latter, education, in any meaningful sense, may well be impossible.

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[27] *Abington School District v. Schempp,* 374 U.S. 203.

Murray Wax assists in clarifying what I am talking about when he speaks of his experiences on the Pine Ridge:

> In these classrooms [of Indian children] what I and other observers have repeatedly discovered is that the children simply organize themselves so that effective control of the classroom passes in a subtle fashion into their hands. . . . [If the observer of such classrooms] knows what to look for, he will perceive that the reticence of the Indian children has nothing to do with personal shyness and everything to do with the relationship between the child and his peers in that classroom. For [they] exert on each other a quiet but powerful pressure so that no one of them is willing to collaborate with the teacher. . . . What the children primarily resist is the authority of the teacher and his (or her) intervention into their collective lives.[28]

In the situation Wax describes, education cannot be properly said to be going on. Rather this situation suggests that to create the conditions necessary for what can properly be called "education," it is necessary to attend to the character of the indigenous collective life of these children, the notions of authority and social organization that they bring with them into the educational context. Further, there is an emerging body of research suggesting that learning is at least facilitated, and perhaps made possible, when the didactic modes of the educational institution are consonant with the didactic modes employed in settings other than those of formal education.[29] Wax's observations and other research suggest that the educational personnel and the organization of the educational enterprise must, in order to be effective and to benignly affect students, be consonant, or consistent, with the cultural patterns or milieu of the community in which the students live.

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[28] "How Should Schools Be Held Accountable?" in *Education for 1984 and After* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission, 1971), pp. 63-64.

Implications for Licensing Numerous

The implications of this argument for the education of educational personnel licensing, and, more generally, the conduct of state supported education appear to be numerous and profound. Here I will confine myself to the preparation and licensing of educational personnel. Under the conditions established in my argument, an adequate licensing system would almost of necessity be comprised of two tiers.[30]

> (1) The first tier would license a person to teach on the basis of demonstrated competence in an intellectual, cultural, or vocational area. This would permit an individual to teach something of conceivable worth and value to someone or some group, with the notions of worth and value broadly interpreted.
>
> (2) The second tier would certify that a person has demonstrated competence in teaching children in a specific kind of

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[29] Peggy R. Sanday, "Cultural and Structural Pluralism in the U.S." (unpublished position paper prepared for the Committee on Cultural Pluralism of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers).

[30] Two-tier or two-step licensing systems of a somewhat different sort have been proposed by others. See Public Education Association of New York City, "Memorandum Regarding Reform of Personnel Selection Procedures for New York City Public School System By Establishment of a New Two-Step Performance Based Certification System" (memorandum prepared at the request of the New York State Assembly Education Committee, Constance Cook, Chmn., September 15, 1973); and see Metropolitan Research Center, *A Possible Reality of High Academic Achievement for the Students of Public Elementary and Junior High Schools of Washington, D.C.*, 1970 (reprinted in Committee Print, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, U.S. Senate, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, September, 1970).

neighborhood or community. Put another way, the person would be certified as having the capacity to benignly affect the achievement and well-being of children in that neighborhood.

The crucial principle at the second tier is that of "benign influence or effect." Benign influence or effect includes the enhancement of the individual student's competence–physical, intellectual, psychological, and vocational–and indirectly the decency and humaneness of the community. This interpretation of "benign influence" is consistent with the court's considerations in *Wisconsin v. Yoder* in which it relied heavily on the self-sufficient character of the Amish community.

Now we can turn to the question of how educational personnel might be prepared. But not directly, for it takes no perceptive observer to discover that in the United States there are few communities comparable to the Amish community–few communities so cohesive, so self-sufficient, so decent and humane *in their own terms*. Indeed, most communities presently appear to be characterized by various sorts of alienation, by troubling and disrupting discontinuities and incompatibilities between and among significant segments of their primary activities–between and among work, education, and the expressive and imaginative life. Thus, the character of educating educational personnel has to be such that it enables them to assist in a community-building process, a process that may well have to be undertaken *in order to secure benign effect on the achievement and well-being of the student.*

The foregoing considerations suggest the need for considerable reconstruction of the education of educational personnel. One model for preservice and in-service education would have the following features:

(1) The second tier of the licensing process I outlined above, and the recurrent licensing and evaluation of teachers, requires a structure I will call an "examining school," a context in which the individual would be evaluated from several perspectives–those of administrators, peers, parents, and community people–for competency to teach in a specific kind of neighborhood or culture.

(2) In order to assist candidates to prepare for this level of certification, programs might be developed–though completion of them would not be mandatory–and perhaps conducted by the "examining

school." These programs might well have the following features:

(a) Education that would assist prospective teachers to "anthropologize" the specific community or region in which they are teaching or in which they intend to teach.

(b) Education that would provide tools to assist in responding to and bridging discontinuities among work, education, and the expressive and imaginative life of the community.

This learning and education would be heavily experiential:

(1) Experience in a range of institutions or sectors of the community other than schools in order to develop understandings of the ways in which these institutions produce "trouble" for one another and the community, or the ways in which they collaborate in the production of actions leading to realization of commonly shared goals and aspirations;

(2) Experience and theoretical assistance in attending to the private and shared mythologies held by members of the community or region regarding work, education and play. This would involve careful work analyzing the rule structures and value postulates implicit in primary community activities in these areas;

(3) Experience and theoretical assistance regarding the role of the imaginative and expressive life of individuals and communities in celebrating the past and constructing a vision of the future, both private and public, a celebration and a vision studied in relationship to work and education, particularly as it provides cognitive structures for interpreting both;

(4) Experience leading to acquisition of skills and tools to deal with discontinuities and alienation, probably in the form of looking at studies of societies and groups that have successfully overcome these sorts of difficulties and of experience in contexts in which discontinuities and alienation exist, with assistance to address them.

I propose such a model of preparatory and in-service programs since the features of it appear essential to developing an adequate sense or understanding of the character of what benign effect on an individual and of what a decent and humane community (as opposed to meaningless generalized propositions about it) might look like. I also regard these features as essential to developing the skills and competencies necessary to simultaneously assist in a community-building process and benignly affect individual students.

Could Improve Character of Civic Life

The implications of the argument I have developed hold out a vision of the future and, consequently, of education that runs directly counter to Mr. Holmes' assertion that, *for the sake of progress,* "backward communities need not be made more happy" but "to be freed from their backwardness." Certainly Mr. Cartter's "attributes of being which are associated with the cultured gentleman" are, except in a few and rare instances, clearly irrelevant, if not detrimental and destructive. But acting on the implications of the argument I have laid down would promote the well-being and the improvement of the character of our civic life, a theme running through the various education cases.[31]

I have perhaps been tempted to conclude too soon, for while I have suggested a configuration of legal constraints within which education will have to be conducted in the future, there remains a rather troublesome problem that has its source in *Brown v. Board of Education* and its progeny. The problem is suggested in a recent district court decision in *Hunnicutt v. Burge.*[32] In this case, twenty-nine white taxpayers in Georgia initiated litigation against the Board of Regents of the University of Georgia, claiming that Fort Valley State, a state supported institution with an exclusively black student body, is academically inferior and inherently and unlawfully unequal. The court found for the plaintiffs and ordered the Board of Regents to "eliminate the design for black students." Further, the court observed that the academic inferiority of Fort Valley State and its substantial production of teachers (who are subsequently licensed by the state) means that students in public schools in the State of Georgia are being denied equal protection under the state's laws governing the licensing of teachers.

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[31] The efforts of the Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship of the ABA should not be overlooked in this connection. This Committee under the direction of Joel Henning, Esq., seeks to foster development and implementation of law-related curricula and teaching practices designed to provide students with the intellectual skills and attitudes necessary for responsible and effective citizenship in an American society governed by rule of law.

[32] *Hunnicutt v. Burge,* 356 F. Supp. 1227, 1973. For commentary on a similar situation – Black House and Casa de la Raza in the Berkeley Experimental School District – see Susan Frelich Appleton, "Alternative Schools for Minority Students: The Constitution, the Civil Rights Act, and the Berkeley Experiment," 61 *California Law Review* 858, 1973.

The court here is relying heavily on the principles enunciated in *Brown*, and its application of them appears to invalidate and undermine the observations and arguments presented earlier in this paper (and to contradict other court decisions.) The problem emerging here is how to secure "equal educational opportunity" and at the same time achieve the conditions necessary for what might be properly called education or, in other words, make it possible to secure equal opportunity and simultaneously initiate a community-building process and enable teachers to benignly affect students. This problem is of considerable magnitude and cannot be resolved here, but seems to have its source in what is an unworkable notion of "equality." For "equality" as used in this context is used analogously with "equality" in mathematical language.

Current 'Equality' Concept Unworkable

For a variety of reasons such a notion appears inadequate whether one seeks to measure equality in terms of inputs (as in accrediting and certification) or in terms of output (as in standardized testing). And our experience with "remedial" or "compensatory" education suggests that the current concept of "equality" at a practical level is unworkable, if not destructive. It seems to me that instead of employing a mathematical notion of equality, we might well, following the lead of David Hawkins, employ instead another mathematical analogy, that of "commensurability." Recognizing that human beings are congenitally incommensurable–never indistinguishable or identical–Hawkins argues:

> The postulate of incommensurability . . . takes children as congenitally varied rather than "unequal," and raises questions

> about the *differential* effect of earlier environment in relation to the kinds of learning it has supported or inhibited. It underlines the importance of local and dependent curricular and instructional choices, to make the curricular spiral tangent at many points to the individual lives of children, to the educative resources of *their* total environment which *they* know or can be helped to discover. . . . This proposition is no less important for the education of "advantaged" children; it is only at present less in the political focus.[33]

He continues,

> But the meaning of incommensurability is that diverse children can attain to a common culture–a common world of meanings and skills, of intellectual tools, moral commitments, and aesthetic involvements. Individual development *can* complement individual differences, but only through a matching diversity of learning styles and strategies. Children can learn equally, in general, only as they learn differently. The more constraints there are toward single-track preprogrammed instruction, the more predictably will the many dimensions of individual variety–congenitally and individually evolved–express themselves as a large rank-order variance in learning.

He concludes his exploration of the notion of incommensurability in the following way:

> Human beings are valued within a community for their useful differences . . . as sources or resources of skill, of aesthetic expression, or moral or intellectual authority. It is not difference as such which we value, but individuality–the unique personal style and synthesis which interests us in each other as subjects of scrutiny, of testing, of emulation, or repudiation. Recognition of

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[33] "Human Nature and the Scope of Education," *Philosophical Redirection of Educational Research*, 71st Yearbook of the National Society of the Study of Education (Chicago, 1972), pp. 301-03.

> individuality completes what I mean by the postulate of incommensurability. The character which members of our own species possess—what we term individuality—implies neither dominance nor identity, but equivalence within a domain of relations sustained by individual diversity. If the old word *equality* should be used in this sense, it is the equality of craftsmen working at different tasks and with different skills, but with plans and tools congruent enough to provide endless analogies and endless diversions. Or, it is the equality of authors who read other authors' books but must each, in the end, write his own.

"Equal opportunity" in light of the postulate of incommensurability requires providing a wide range of diversity in that opportunity. Thus, judgment concerning "equality" among institutions and the competency of individual teachers can be formulated against no mere hypothetical and unascertainable national or statewide standard of "equality" of inputs or outputs. Such formulations must, rather, be formulated against the prerequisites for the sufficiency of the individual and decent and humane communities.